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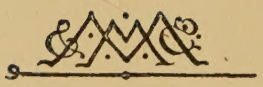
THOMAS ARNOLD



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THOMAS ARNOLD

BY

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GENERAL PREFACE

THE intention of this series of studies of the lives of English bishops and priests is to suggest the significance of the man in the age in which he lived and in the movements within the Church with which he was concerned. It is the general editorial policy to select a biographer sympathetic with the character with whom he deals, since, in the view of the editor, sympathy is necessary to understanding. The choice of subjects is entirely arbitrary, following no chronological order and no settled plan, and the writers represent every school of thought in the English Church. Each volume is individual, and the writer alone is responsible for its judgements.

PREFACE

THE classical authority for the life of Thomas Arnold is of course Stanley's incomparable biography, and there is but little that can now be added to it or in which its estimates need to be corrected. But the outlook of its author was necessarily somewhat restricted by current tendencies; he could not be expected to foresee the important changes which have since taken place in the social and ecclesiastical world. Stanley is a typical mid-Victorian of the order deservedly admired by Dean Inge; he could have had no conception of the colossal problems which haunt post-war England and Europe or of the new forces and institutions which occupy the foreground of human interest—the League of Nations; dominant Trade Unionism; the amazing and still rapidly proceeding achievements of science, with the resulting bifurcation of

educational methods; the springing up of modern universities in our great industrial centres, together with the concomitant advance in the number and efficiency of popular secondary schools which already more than rival the supremacy of Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and the younger foundation which Arnold made famous. Most of all would he marvel at the Anglicanism represented in the last Lambeth Conference, no longer merely insular or self-contained but world-wide and with a corresponding *Weltanschauung*. He would find Dissent relatively stronger and with an altered name—the Free Churches—entering into close and friendly co-operation with the establishment, old jealousies forgotten, new fellowships created. Perhaps he would be still more surprised at the *rapprochement* which has taken place in recent years between this supra-national Anglicanism and every other historic branch of the Church of Christ, a development which without doubt has much farther to go and more important fruits to garner.

In these different circumstances there is room to inquire afresh into the nature of

Arnold's witness to the things which cannot be shaken and to observe how his opinions have stood the test of time. Stanley's memorial to his great preceptor will never be superseded, but the generation to which it was addressed was so wholly other in its conventional assumptions from that to which the majority of English-speaking people belong at the present day, that we may fairly reconsider its subject from the vantage ground of a later experience. It is less with Arnold the schoolmaster than with Arnold the churchman and patriot that we are here concerned.

Other writers have already surveyed this field in more or less fragmentary fashion and from varying standpoints but with much acumen and expert knowledge in their several ways. After Stanley the present writer is chiefly indebted to Dean Church's *History of the Oxford Movement*—not altogether fair to Arnold; Brilioth's admirable *Anglican Revival*, a work of high critical value; Fairbairn's *Catholicism, Roman and Anglican*, which indirectly throws considerable light on the situation with which Arnold had to deal; Walrond's article on Arnold in the *Dictionary*

of National Biography ; Tuckwell's attractive and informing volume on *Pre-Tractarian Oxford* ; Neander's essay, *The Theology of Thomas Arnold*, which is more of an original contribution to the subject than a mere review of Stanley's *Life* ; J. B. Mozley's important essay, which had a like origin but was written from an entirely different standpoint and reached different conclusions ; Lock's *Life of John Keble* ; and Canon Storr's *Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century*. This last is indispensable for any student who wishes to acquire a balanced and comprehensive knowledge of the principal formative forces at work in the sphere of religion and morals during Arnold's lifetime. Dr. Arnold's own works have less living value for present-day readers than the principles which inspired them. Had he lived longer he would have contributed more both to the scholarship and the homiletics of the age ; as it is there is surprisingly little to which one can turn for authoritative guidance in any of the departments of thought he adorned, especially considering the lengthy list of serious works which bear his name. The best edition of

these consists of no less than fifteen volumes exclusive of his contributions to various current periodicals. The sermons are excellent for their specific purpose; but the preacher was limited by prepossessions he himself has helped his successors to get rid of; and the moral applications he made of the truths he drew from his texts were necessarily conditioned by the time and place in which they were made and by the fact that he was addressing for the most part a congregation of boys. There is little that is original or profound in these discourses, nor are we entitled to expect that there should be.

If I have not included Mr. Lytton Strachey's essay on Arnold (in *Eminent Victorians*) with the above-mentioned authorities it is because I am compelled to regard it as a caricature and not a true impression of the character and career of a truly great and good man.

I have to thank several members of the Arnold family for permitting me access to documents and MSS. which have helped me in some degree in preparing this book for the

press. Particularly are my acknowledgements due to Mrs. Vere O'Brien and, in the same connection, to Dr. Arnold Whitridge, who is also engaged upon a study of Dr. Arnold's life for American readers.

R. J. CAMPBELL.

75 Marine Parade, Brighton.
November 1926.

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CHAPTER I

FORMATIVE YEARS

THE closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth witnessed the birth of a number of notable men who were destined to exercise considerable and lasting influence on English thought and life, particularly in the field of religion. They had the same classical training in youth, became distinguished graduates of the same university, and later threw themselves with ardour into the same cause, that of rescuing Church and State from the baneful influences of a secular temper which threatened the destruction of both. In their several degrees they succeeded in accomplishing this end, but differed widely in their methods of doing so. We of a later generation looking back upon their work can appraise more justly than themselves both its strength and weakness. The names of Whately, Hampden, and Arnold on the one hand, and of Keble, Pusey, and Newman on the other, sum up for us the

leading tendencies of a formative epoch in the history of Anglicanism and indirectly of British Christianity as a whole. Of these names that of Thomas Arnold is not the least eminent, and had its bearer lived to the advanced age of some of his illustrious contemporaries there can be little doubt that he would have set an ineffaceable mark, not only upon later ecclesiastical developments, but upon national polity. As it is, he is chiefly remembered as the advocate of principles and methods in regard to education, Church government, and the solution of social problems, which have since been largely adopted and put into practice.

The subject of the present biography was born at West Cowes, Isle of Wight, on June 13, 1795. The family from which he sprang was not of high social standing and lineage, nor had it produced hitherto any very distinguished scions either as thinkers or men of action. Contrary to what is usual in this respect, however, Thomas Arnold has proved to be the progenitor of a talented race, as the names of his famous son, Matthew Arnold, poet, essayist, and literary critic, and of his granddaughter, Mrs. Humphry Ward, sufficiently testify. Thomas Arnold's father was a collector of customs. Of his personal char-

acter little can be said beyond the illuminating fact that in an age when the relations of parent and child were regulated by different standards from those of to-day, consisting largely in the assertion of stern authority on the one side and of dutiful submission on the other, the Arnold home was an exceptionally happy one. That its members were of affectionate disposition and staunchly loyal to one another all through life is demonstrable from many references in Thomas Arnold's correspondence. He always looked back on his childhood with tender feelings, and one of his hobbies in after years was that of searching for and preserving what he could find of the family records. He was accustomed to make careful and exact entries of these in books kept for the purpose, in order that his descendants might be acquainted with and profit by them.

What his father's direct influence upon him might have been we cannot tell, for the former died suddenly in 1801, when Thomas, the seventh child and youngest son, was only in his sixth year. On the male side the family was not long-lived ; both of Arnold's elder brothers died young, and Arnold himself passed away as unexpectedly as his father and of the same disease, angina pectoris, at the age of forty-seven.

To his mother he was ever devoted, and though but little of his feelings towards her appears in his letters to others—there was indeed almost no opportunity for their expression through such medium—we have the authority of surviving members of the family in the direct line for saying that the bond of intimacy between parent and child in this case could not well have been closer. When he left Oxford he brought his mother and sister to live with him, and after his marriage they continued to make their home near his. It was at this period that the second of his elder brothers died, and of the event Arnold thus writes to his friend the Rev. George Cornish:

> The loss which we all sustained in May was the first great affliction that ever befell me, and it has been indeed a heavy one. At first it came so suddenly that I could not feel it so keenly; and I had other thoughts besides upon me, which would not then allow me to dwell so much upon it. But time has rather made the loss more painful than less so; and now that I am married, and living here calmly and quietly . . . all the circumstances of his death recur to me like a frightful dream. It is very extraordinary how often I dream that he is alive, and always with the consciousness that he is alive after having been supposed dead; and this sometimes has gone so far that I have in my dream questioned the reality of his being alive, and doubted whether it were not a dream, and have been convinced that it

was not, so strongly, that I could hardly shake off the impression on waking.[1]

The intensity of the writer's personal loyalty to those of his own blood with whom his earliest associations had been cast is unquestionable. The same letter speaks of his mother's affliction under this bereavement and of the comfort she and other members of the family derive from being so accessible to him. But there was one member of this little household to whom he owed more than he could ever repay, as he was always glad to acknowledge. This was his mother's sister, Miss Delafield. It was this lady who directed his early studies and who throughout his career took a constant and loving interest in everything that concerned him. Some of his most kindly and grateful tributes were to her. Of his saintly sister Susannah, a lifelong invalid, who was the third inmate of the home shared by his mother and aunt, he writes in similar terms to Archbishop Whately:

I must conclude with a more delightful subject—my most dear and blessed sister. I never saw a more perfect instance of the spirit of power and of love and of a sound mind; intense love, almost to the annihilation of self—a daily martyrdom for twenty years, during which she adhered to her early formed

[1] Stanley, *Life*, vol. i. p. 65.

resolution of never talking about herself; thoughtful about the very pins and ribands of my wife's dress, about the making of a doll's cap for a child,—but of herself, save only as regarded her ripening in all goodness, wholly thoughtless, enjoying everything lovely, graceful, beautiful, high-minded, whether in God's works or man's, with the keenest relish; inheriting the earth to the very fulness of the promise, though never leaving her crib, nor changing her posture; and preserved through the very valley of the shadow of death, from all fear or impatience, or from every cloud of impaired reason, which might mar the beauty of Christ's Spirit's glorious work. May God grant that I might come but within one hundred degrees of her place in glory.[1]

Extracts of this kind—and many more might be cited, both from published and unpublished letters—give an accurate impression of the domestic atmosphere in which Arnold was bred and from which his ardent temperament took its colouring. If the foundations of character are laid in childhood and the moral nature shaped for good or ill by the influences brought to bear in the years preceding adolescence, then we have here the clue to most that was distinctive of Arnold in after life. His work at Rugby was made possible in no small degree by the gracious discipline of the home at West Cowes with its lofty ethical quality, grave and sincere piety, and the un-

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 325.

selfish mutual regard of all the members of a happy family circle.

> There is [says Dr. Mozley] a congeniality often between a man's birthplace and his future tastes. The port of West Cowes in the Isle of Wight, then proud and flourishing in all the naval and military stir of the French war, was the birthplace and nurse of the earlier years of Dr. Arnold; and the noise and sight of equipments, naval and military, fresh arrivals and departures, weather-beaten visages, widespread sails and cocked hats, gave early a strong geographical and historical turn to his imagination, mixed with a considerable amount of pugnacity; which vented itself in the battles of paper fleets, and the combats of Homeric heroes dramatised from Pope's translation. A genuine love of the sea through life, and an amusing philosophical form of the true sailor contempt for 'landlubbers', was a result of these scenes.[1]

Arnold himself always believed that his early acquaintance with the sea had a stimulating and expanding influence upon his nature, especially as that acquaintance was associated with one of the most important historical periods in English and European life. It was owing to this association, no doubt, that his first literary preference was for ballad poetry. He loved action, hazard, adventure, all the drama and movement of mighty deeds in past and present, and this was a characteristic

[1] *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 2.

which never left him. It was not until much later that he became able to appreciate lyrical as contrasted with epic poetry, and the development was mainly due to his friendship with J. T. Coleridge. His admiration for Wordsworth was a feature of his maturity and grew with his years. It awakened new capacities within him, and when in the last ten years of his life he made his holiday home at Fox How, near Rydal, he was able to enjoy an amount of intercourse with the Wordsworth family which rapidly ripened into affectionate intimacy. He was well aware of what he owed to Wordsworth, for his native mentality was lacking in those elements of reverent perception of the spiritual values inherent in natural beauty and of emotional response thereto which were Wordsworth's richest dower and the principal dynamic of his message to an age which was in much need of it. That Arnold came in time to love passionately the scenery of the Lake District and to view it almost sacramentally is evident from every allusion he makes to it in his communications to his friends, and he gladly acknowledges that in this respect, as in some others, Wordsworth was his preceptor. His own genius was of the practical order and would have been too heavy-footed and dull but for the expand-

ing force brought to bear upon it in the manner thus specified.

He was shy and reserved by temperament in boyhood's days, exhibiting little or none of the happy spontaneity in social fellowship which characterised his manhood. There was more than a trace of stubbornness in his nature too which afterwards became transmuted into the more engaging quality of a strength of conviction which was found compatible with sincere respect for the judgement of others. But though somewhat solitary he was no dreamer, as his early educational record shows, both at the preparatory school at Warminster to which he was sent in 1803 and at Winchester where he was entered in 1807. He was still under sixteen when he became a scholar of Corpus Christi, Oxford, and scarcely nineteen when he took a first class in Literae Humaniores.[1] He was elected a fellow of Oriel in 1815 chiefly owing to the discerning intervention of Whately, the first of many benefits deriving from the same source. Arnold's prose style up to this period had been crude and stilted. The examiners would have rejected him on account of this had not Whately pointed out the promise it evinced

[1] He was Chancellor's Prizeman in Latin in 1815, and in English in 1817.

of better things, a pronouncement amply vindicated in time to come; the contrast is very marked between the cramped formal expression usual in Arnold's earlier letters and correspondence, even in his Oxford days, and the freedom, flexibility, and force of his writings from about 1830 onward.

His relationships with other men at Oxford profoundly affected all his future career. He was very tenacious of friendship and always felt more deeply the disapproval or misjudgement of a friend than any number of attacks from opponents with whom he had no special ties of affection. He does not seem to have made many lasting school friendships, but his Oxford affinities were strong and deep and continued to the end of his days. Among his first intimacies, which no later divergence of opinion was suffered wholly to break, must be mentioned that with John Keble. He ever spoke of Keble with the utmost tenderness and respect notwithstanding the differences of principle which divided them at the height of the Tractarian movement. It is pleasant to note in this connection that Keble would have been Arnold's guest at Fox How during the summer vacation of 1842 but for the untimely decease of the latter. We can but regret that this opportunity of discussing and perhaps

reconciling conflicting points of view on grave questions of national and ecclesiastical import was thus prevented; it might have had far-reaching and helpful results.

J. T. Coleridge, nephew of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and in after life a distinguished Judge of the Queen's Bench, was Arnold's closest friend then and throughout all the years that followed. To him Arnold acknowledges having owed more than to any other living man. It is to the recollections of this wise and discriminating observer that we owe the description of Arnold's character included in the opening chapter of Stanley's biography of his friend and master. Coleridge represents the boy, for he was no more, as fond of argument, fearless and independent in defence of his opinions, but good-tempered and without a grain of vanity or conceit. Most of the Corpus set were conservative by tradition, while Arnold was an extreme radical, almost a Jacobin, a position he did not long maintain; in his mature years he might accurately have been called a non-party Whig, moderate in most of his views, liberal in others, rigidly conservative in some.

Along with Keble and Coleridge the noble-hearted J. Tucker, subsequently a missionary in India, and Trevenen Penrose, whose sister

Mary became Arnold's wife in 1820, ought to be included. These, with F. C. Blackstone of New College, W. W. Hull, and Augustus Hare, formed a small circle of intelligent reading men whose constant intercourse and animated discussions led to the formation of the Attic Society whence originated the Oxford Union.

But it was at Oriel that Arnold became a member of the famous group which in sharply contrasted ways has exercised the greatest influence upon the English Church since that day. The names of Copleston, Davison, Whately, Hawkins, and Hampden represent one tendency, and those of Keble, Pusey, and Newman the other. Newman actually succeeded to Arnold's fellowship when the latter resigned it in 1819. The Noetics, as the Whately group has come to be called, was that with which Arnold possessed the most natural sympathy; the others as naturally became the fathers of Tractarianism. Oriel College thus operated in our ecclesiastical history as a sort of spiritual Great Divide, two streams of fertilising influence proceeding from its source and flowing far in opposite directions before mingling in the great ocean of truth at last.

Properly speaking the Noetics were not a

party nor had they any very strong bond of union in the same sense as the Tractarians had later; they were not even conscious of aiming at a common object or of contending on behalf of a common cause; they dissented from each other's positions in important particulars and would probably have been much surprised to learn that an after generation would come to regard them as the pioneers of a new liberal movement in the Church of England possessing greater elements of permanency than any that had preceded it. They were all men of strong individuality, profound learning, and high powers of mind. They were animated by an earnest desire to promote free inquiry in relation to the Christian facts, but were not agreed as to the proper limits of such inquiry nor indeed upon the mutual relations of Church and State. They stood for a progressive type of Christianity, but placed more stress upon the independent and national character of the established Church than upon its Catholicity. On the whole they were in favour of the abolition of university tests and to a man were advocates of a higher standard of proficiency in the schools. It is to the Noetics that the successful initiation of reform in Oxford habits and methods is principally due. The old easy-going dilettantism

of university life with its obstinate conservatism, manifold abuses, and stale conventions, had long been a subject of reproach, but it was only in the first quarter of the nineteenth century that any real stirring of the stagnant waters took place, and only then in the teeth of unyielding prejudice and unwholesome custom. The practice of appointing men to College fellowships regardless of their academic or intellectual qualifications was with difficulty broken down, Oriel leading the way, and the grading of men by examination for degrees was a measure long postponed because of the horror it excited in the breasts of tutors and heads of houses. Copleston, after his election as Provost of Oriel, strove hard to introduce these salutary changes, but failed to convince his coadjutors in the University as a whole notwithstanding the high authority he deservedly wielded. He had won his own fellowship by sheer ability and merit, and this he never forgot when it came to his turn to make appointments to similar positions; it was he who brought together the remarkable company who gave to Oriel the distinction it enjoyed in academic circles for many years. Neither Whately nor Newman took firsts in the schools, but their qualities of originality, industry, and promise were noted by unerring

judgement and given corresponding opportunity. Copleston's influence on Newman was considerable and lasting, not so much in the sphere of theology as in that of letters; the younger man, himself one of the greatest masters of a delicate prose style that England has produced, was a discriminating admirer of the lectures of his chief because of their exactitude of diction and charm of expression. It was a great loss to Oxford when Copleston left it in 1827 to become Bishop of Llandaff and Dean of St. Paul's. As a bishop he was a first-rate administrator, moderately conservative in ecclesiastical policy, a firm upholder of Reformation principles, and definitely anti-Roman in his sympathies. Tractarianism repelled him, and he never understood it; he believed, quite erroneously, that its influence was small and would soon die out. But neither was he greatly attracted by Arnold, whose views he characterised as extreme, ill thought out, and as inimical to the true spirit of the Church of England as Newman's.

This observation anticipates future developments somewhat but is necessary in its place as giving some idea of the mental climate in which Arnold found himself during his years at Oxford. It does not appear that he was ever directly influenced by Copleston in any

marked degree, but he certainly was by the fruits of Copleston's methods at Oriel and by the atmosphere of continuous intimacy with the Noetics, of whom Whately was and remained for him by far the most potent representative. Whately was of a different temper from Copleston and indeed from Arnold himself, though their ultimate divergence of view on matters of fundamental importance was long in becoming apparent and was never accentuated at any time. Whately's affection for his younger contemporary never underwent any diminution through all their subsequent friendship and was never more tenderly evident than in the closing hour of the latter's tragically short career, when the Archbishop paid a prompt visit of consolation to the bereaved family of his former colleague. Arnold's opinion of Whately is on record, and reveals the reverence the character of his friend evoked. Writing to the Rev. G. Cornish at the end of 1831, he refers to the news of Whately's appointment to the primacy of Ireland in the following terms:

> Now I am sure that in point of real essential holiness, so far as man can judge of man, there does not live a truer Christian than Whately; and it does grieve me most deeply to hear people speak of him as of a dangerous and latitudinarian character,

because in him the intellectual part of his nature keeps pace with the spiritual—instead of being left, as the Evangelicals leave it, a fallow field for all unsightly creeds to flourish in. He is a truly great man—in the highest sense of the word—and if the safety and welfare of the Protestant Church in Ireland depend in any degree on human instruments, none could be found, I verily believe, in the whole empire, so likely to maintain it.[1]

Two years later he expresses substantially the same view to Coleridge in giving vent to his fears of the aftermath of the Reform Bill of 1832.

I fear that the Government lend an ear too readily to the Utilitarians and others of that coarse and hard stamp whose influence can be nothing but evil. In Church matters they have got Whately, and a signal blessing it is that they have him and listen to him; a man so good and so great that no folly or wickedness of the most vile of factions will move him from his own purposes, nor provoke him in disgust to forsake the defence of the Temple.[2]

At a later date, when Whately's troubles and perplexities in his Archepiscopate had begun to accumulate, Arnold pours out his misgivings on the subject to W. C. Lake.

Where is the knowledge, where the wisdom, and where the goodness, which combine to form the great man? I know of no man who approaches to this character except Whately, and he is taken away from the place where he was wanted, and sent where

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 309.

[2] *Ibid.* i. p. 366.

the highest greatness would struggle in vain against the overpowering disadvantages of his position.[1]

These are strong terms in which to speak of a contemporary with whom the writer had been closely associated, but on the whole the verdict has been approved by posterity. Of all the members of the distinguished Oriel group Whately has perhaps the clearest title to greatness, both in respect of his natural gifts and his rare elevation of character. But for his high ecclesiastical preferment his influence on the development of Christian thought in England would have been greater than it is. He was a thinker of the very first order whose intellectual endowments were wasted amid the cares of an administrative office he was not specially fitted to fill. Unlike Copleston he was not profoundly erudite in many different fields ; it is said that he was not a great reader but made himself thoroughly master of any subject he took up and always contributed more to it than any text-book gave him. His Oriel intimates included Newman, who confessed to having been indebted to Whately for the idea of the Church as a corporate substantive body and also for his deep loathing of Erastianism. It is strange to reflect that in the latter particular Whately

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 59.

and Arnold should have stood so far apart from each other without a breach of sympathy, whereas with Newman the breach was later quite complete. In another respect too he and Arnold had but little in common, or so we may reasonably assume: Whately had no conception of the value of the historical method in theology or indeed in anything else. Tuckwell says of him that he was "untouched by historical antiquity, a stranger to the spiritual influences of Nature, devoid of taste for music, painting, architecture", and "lacked those associative resources which draw men easily together from a sense of aesthetic kinship or by collision of instructive disagreement". [1] Yet Arnold always looked back on a visit to Whately's Suffolk rectory in 1822 as decisively affecting his ecclesiastical convictions, particularly with regard to the ministry, and as giving to his mind an impress in relation to some of the most vital religious questions of the hour which it never afterwards lost.

Edward Hawkins became Copleston's successor as Provost of Oriel in 1828, but he had been a Fellow of the college from 1813, a year before Arnold. Beyond the fact that it was chiefly owing to Hawkins' strong recommen-

[1] *Pre-Tractarian Oxford*, p. 61.

dation that Arnold owed his election to the headmastership of Rugby in December 1827 there does not seem to be much evidence of close intimacy between the two men, though it is true that Arnold dedicated to the Provost the first volume of his lectures as Regius Professor of Modern History in 1842. Friends they undoubtedly were, and friends they remained to the end, but it is questionable whether they would have found themselves in mutual agreement in later years. Hawkins must be classed as a Noetic, but he was no radical either in doctrine or polity, as his Bampton Lectures show. His views on tradition, in which he argued for the formula that it was the function of the Church to teach revealed truth and of Holy Scripture to attest the same, influenced Newman and bore fruit in the Tractarian movement. In this he parted company with his Noetic colleagues, but he had no more real sympathy with Tractarianism than they. No man of influence in Oxford took a stronger line in opposition to the new cult, and in his well-known condemnation of Tract Ninety he exhibited clearer perception of the incipient Romanism of the teaching contained therein, and of the entire series of which it was the culmination, than did most of his contemporaries. Arnold

emphatically differed from him on the subject of the divine authority of the episcopate, as we shall have occasion to note later, and he could have been in no closer agreement with him on the subject of baptismal regeneration, wherein Hawkins' views approximated much more nearly to those of Keble and the school of which Keble was the inspirer.

A drastic step, marking a definite division on points of principle, was Hawkins' dismissal from the tutorial office of Newman, Robert Wilberforce, and Hurrell Froude. It has been suggested that this high-handed action was dictated more by concern for his own personal authority than by conscientious disapproval of the kind of influence exerted by these three teachers on the minds of undergraduates, but there is sufficient ground for believing that it was the latter rather than the former reason which weighed most with the Provost at the time.

Of Hampden little need be said at this point except to observe that in the opinion of so competent a judge as Canon Storr much less than justice has been done to a man around whose name raged one of the bitterest controversies of the period. Dean Church's depreciatory comment upon his ability and learning, contained in the ninth chapter of

The Oxford Movement, is somewhat biased by prejudice. Hampden was elected to a fellowship at Oriel in the same year as Arnold, and was a worthy member of a famous society; he was the most gracious spirit among the Noetics, the gentlest and the least assertive of men; in spiritual quality he stands nearer to Keble than to any of his other colleagues, though no two men could have been more strongly opposed in their ecclesiastical views. He was a liberal of a breadth of mind quite unusual in the time and place—in some respects more so than that of Arnold himself—and if he possessed few claims to originality, the same might be said of most of his supporters and opponents in the storm aroused by his appointment to the Regius Professorship of Divinity in 1836 and the subsequent protest on his nomination to the See of Hereford in 1847. In regard to the latter his experience anticipated that of Dr. Hensley Henson in 1917 except for the fact that Dr. Hampden, though a man of firm and unyielding character in what he held to be matters of principle and of fidelity to truth, had none of the doughty fighting qualities of the present Bishop of Durham. None the less he was an excellent bishop, and, curiously enough, distrustful in his later

years of all brands of liberalism except his own.

Arnold's courageous and almost vehement defence of his friend and former colleague when Hampden's fitness for the chair of Divinity was challenged in 1836 had important bearings which will be discussed in their proper place.

The foregoing represent, or are typical of, the principal forces governing the development of Arnold's character and life during childhood and early manhood, a formative period which we may regard as coming to a close in 1819 with the termination of his residence at Oxford and the resignation of his fellowship. A period no less important follows, equally productive of lasting result, which we must now proceed to review.

CHAPTER II

THE LALEHAM PERIOD

ARNOLD'S eight years at Oxford were succeeded by eight years of quiet and retired but arduous work as a private tutor at Laleham, a small and beautiful village on the banks of the Thames near Staines. He had been ordained deacon before leaving Oxford, and in 1820 married Mary Penrose, daughter of a Nottinghamshire clergyman, and sister, as has already been stated, of his college friend Trevenen Penrose. The union was one of uninterrupted harmony and domestic felicity; Mrs. Arnold was in all respects a true helpmate to her distinguished husband, a fact to which he was ever ready to bear grateful testimony. The pair were blessed with a large family, of whose ordered happiness Stanley gives description in a memorable passage relating to a somewhat later stage than we have now reached.[1] It was Arnold's

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 230.

habit to do his thinking and writing in the company of his wife and children, with animated conversation going on around him or the noise of little ones at play, friends and guests passing in and out as occasion demanded. He had trained himself, like St. Ambrose of old, to concentrate his thoughts on the subject in hand while holding himself free to respond to interruptions, answer questions, or even suspend his occupation for the time in order to give attention to other matters that were brought before him. It is of home life lived under such conditions that his biographer writes:

It was from amidst this chaos of employments that he turned, with all the delight of which his nature was capable, to what he often dwelt upon as the rare, the unbroken, the almost awful happiness of his domestic life. It is impossible adequately to describe the union of the whole family round him, who was not only the father and guide, but the elder brother and playfellow of his children; the first feelings of enthusiastic love and watchful care, carried through twenty-two years of wedded life,—the gentleness and devotion which marked his whole feeling and manner in the privacy of his domestic intercourse. Those who had known him only in the school, can remember the kind of surprise with which they first witnessed his tenderness and playfulness. Those who had known him only in the bosom of his family, found it difficult to conceive how his pupils or the world at large should have formed to themselves so stern an image of one in

himself so loving. Yet both were alike natural to him; the severity and the playfulness, expressing each in their turn the earnestness with which he entered into the business of life, and the enjoyment with which he entered into its rest; whilst the common principle, which linked both together, made every closer approach to him in his private life a means for better understanding him in his public relations.[1]

The truth of this description is fully borne out by the contents of some of Arnold's more intimate letters and journals kindly lent to the present writer by surviving members of the Arnold family. In particular the diary written for his children during his Continental tour in the summer of 1829, and never intended for publication, abounds in charming touches revealing the warm affectionate nature of the man and the happy terms of mutual confidence in which he lived with those he loved. The diary begins:

CALAIS, *July 10th*.—My dearest children—as your own dearest Mamma is now travelling with me, this journal is to be addressed to you, and if you cannot read and understand it now, yet I think it will interest you hereafter. We left dear Rugby, which a twelvemonth ago I little thought I should already love so dearly, on Tuesday evening in a chaise for Northampton . . . Keble going on the Dicky.

It is interesting to note that the author of *The*

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 231.

Christian Year was of the party, though only for the first day of the journey ; he had evidently been Arnold's guest and elected to continue in his company for a few hours longer. We shall come upon further references to the tenacious quality of the bonds which united these two friends in a fellowship which was weakened, but never wholly broken, by the ecclesiastical controversies which later thrust them into opposing camps. Stanley hardly does justice to this impressive fact or the gracious light it throws on the Christian character of both of these distinguished men.

Throughout the diary—which, by the way, exhibits Arnold both in his strength and weakness as an observant traveller ; he was somewhat lacking in the aesthetic sense and in the power of entering sympathetically into minds and manners not his own, which is only to say that he was a typical Englishman of the period—he addresses his young readers playfully as " the Fry ", sometimes the " Frius Fri ". " Adieu dearest Fry till this evening." " Good-night Fry." " Good-morning, dearest Fry." " It will puzzle you I think, my Fry, to find out on any of your maps the little place where your Papa and Mamma are now stopping." " Oh Fry, Fry, how idle am I ! "

Once again am I on the shore of the Mediterranean. I saw it only from a distance when I was last in Italy, but now I am once more on its very edge, and have been on it and in it. True it is that the Mediterranean is no more than a vast mass of salt water if people choose to think it so: but it is also the most magnificent Thing in the World if you choose to think it so;—and it is as truly the latter as it is the former. And as the pococurante Temper is not the happiest, and that which can admire heartily is much more akin to that which can love heartily,—ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν θεῷ—so, my children, I wish that if ever you come to Genoa you may think the Mediterranean to be more than any common sea, and may be unable to look upon it without a deep stirring of delight.

The following is one of the most illuminating passages in the diary, having regard to Arnold's ripening convictions, strong moral sense, and somewhat utilitarian estimate of the principal values of life. It does more to enable us to see him as he was at the commencement of the most productive period of his career than pages of lengthy dissertation would do.

I fancy how delightful it would be to bring one's Family and live here; but then happily I think and feel how little such voluptuous enjoyment would repay for abandoning the line of Usefulness and Activity which I have in England, and how the feeling myself helpless and useless, living merely to look about me, and training up my children in the same way, would soon make all this Beauty pall and appear even wearisome. But to see it as we are now

doing, in our moments of recreation, to strengthen us for work to come, and to gild with beautiful Recollections our daily Life of Home Duties ;—this indeed is delightful, and is a Pleasure which I think we may enjoy without restraint. England has other Destinies than these countries,—I use the word in no foolish or un-Christian sense,—but she has other Destinies ;—her people have more required of them ; —with her full Intelligence, her restless Activity, her enormous Means, and enormous Difficulties,—her pure Religion and unchecked Freedom, her Form of Society with so much of Evil, yet so much of Good in it and such immense Power conferred by it ;— her citizens least of all men should think of their own Rest or Enjoyment but should cherish every faculty and improve every opportunity to the utmost, to do Good to themselves and to the World. Therefore these lovely villas and this surpassing Beauty of Lake and Mountain and Garden and Wood, are least of all men for us to covet :—and our country so entirely subdued as it is to Man's Uses with its gentle Hills and Vallies, its innumerable canals and coaches, is best suited as an Instrument of Usefulness.

There speaks the voice of the England that Waterloo had left paramount in Europe, or rather of that portion of England which consisted of the cultured and comfortable classes with their strong sense of duty, their public spirit, and their invincible belief in the superiority of English ways and institutions to all other. This attitude of mind lasted on and became intensified with every decade till the end of the century, but with an ever-deepening

materialism superadded to increasing prosperity and a gradually diminishing moral intensity. If we have reacted against it to-day it is not because we have yet found something better to put in its place, but rather because we have seen tragic reason to distrust the assumptions on which it was based. We are at present in the critical stage, and it remains to be seen whether we are equal to the task of constructing a new and better philosophy of life out of the ruins of the old. Arnold was not singular in his belief in England's special divine vocation and his half-unconscious assurance of the uniqueness of her place in the world; it was the creed of the order to which he belonged. He saw reason to modify it at a subsequent period, as we shall see, but he never modified or deviated from his persuasion that England had been divinely chosen to show the rest of the world how to behave. The disillusioned generation to which we belong resents this complacent condescending insularity of temper, but underestimates the worth of the standards of conduct that went along with it. Duty was emphasised and preached in early and mid-Victorian times as it is not now; and if our fathers' notions of duty were a little too conventional and circumscribed they at least

produced strong characters willing to accept responsibility and shoulder public burdens. Our chief endeavour nowadays appears to be that of dodging responsibility and placing our burdens upon somebody else. It might be a gain to us to recover the Victorian watchword even at the price of some return of the unimaginative pride of race with which it was linked. The dangers of the latter can be corrected by hard facts, but nothing can make up for the loss of the former.

We have gone a little ahead of our dates in citing the diary above mentioned. Arnold always looked back upon his peaceful time at Laleham as the most important of his life. That it had the profoundest effect in making him what the world afterwards came to know him to be is beyond any doubt. Not even Oriel did as much for him in this respect; he became almost a new man between 1819 and 1828, with a remarkable access of power and resource very apparent to all in contact with him. The change in his literary style is proof of this. The jejune, cramped, and rather stiff manner in which he was wont to express himself, not only as a schoolboy and undergraduate, but even as the holder of an Oxford fellowship, gives way to the polished freedom and at times torrential diction that is a

conspicuous mark of his most famous public pronouncements.[1] J. T. Coleridge says that his doubts before ordination were solved by a friend's advice "to pause in his inquiries, to pray earnestly for help and light from above, and turn himself more strongly than ever to the practical duties of a holy life; he did so, and through severe trials was finally blessed with perfect peace of mind, and a settled conviction".[2] That these doubts were no light matter to the young man we gather from the statement that they caused him the deepest distress and went far towards unfitting him for his ordinary work at the university; but once he had attained sure standing ground in matters of faith he never lost it and never retraced his steps. It may be truly said that to him the person of Christ was central and determinative. Christ was the Deity he worshipped, the ever-present friend and saviour to whom his love and allegiance were wholeheartedly given, but he was comparatively untouched by any critical theories as to the historicity of the New Testament portraiture of the personality and work of Christ. Strauss made no impression upon him except that of

[1] His first published volume of sermons (1829) is proof of this. The introduction shows that he was conscious of it himself.

[2] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 21.

repulsion ; any suggestion towards impairing the authority and sufficiency of the gospel accounts of the sayings and doings of the divine founder and object of the Christian faith he felt to be incompatible with his spiritual experience. He held firmly to this position while maintaining with equal vigour the importance of scholarly criticism as applied to the Christian sources. Neander thinks that his theology was home grown and owed nothing to Continental influences,[1] in which opinion he is probably right; but the theology so described was far from being shallow or obscurantist for all that. Arnold always knew well what he believed and why he believed it.

From his Christo-centric position he never swerved. It was that wherewith he began his clerical life and remained with him to the end, as is demonstrable from his earliest as well as his latest sermons. Christ and Christianity were in his judgement almost mutually convertible terms ; there could not be a living belief in the one which did not imply the other.

Coleridge considers that in his college days

[1] *Theology of Thomas Arnold*, 1846. In the same essay the writer says : " In Arnold we recognise a man fitted to be the herald of a purer and more enlightened Church of the future ". Mozley (*Essays*, Dr. Arnold) credits his subject with the Teutonic type of mentality.

Arnold was perhaps a little too pugnacious and too positive, easily roused to indignation, vehement in argument, with less of imaginative than of reasoning power, disinclined to be deferential to authority, but ever loyal and generous in spirit and staunch in friendship. These qualities with their corresponding defects he carried with him through life, but always under the control of a disciplined mind and will. How much a consecrated will could do in the shaping of character is well exemplified in the habits of industry he adopted at Laleham and ever afterwards maintained. He seems to have been by nature indolent and indisposed for sustained exertion either physically or mentally, and was liable to a cognate infirmity of purpose. These faults were so completely eliminated from now onward that the very opposite came to be his distinguishing characteristics. That inimitable phrase-maker, Carlyle, spoke of him as setting an example of "unhasting, unresting diligence" in daily life, and on leaving after a short visit to the home at Rugby in 1842, expressed the hope that it might long continue to be what was to him "one of the rarest sights in the world, a temple of industrious peace" [1]—a benediction uttered almost on the eve of the fatal

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 324.

seizure which put a premature end to a career as rich in promise as in performance.

Arnold was not devoid of personal ambition. Like most men conscious of possessing great faculties he desired an ample sphere for their exercise, and had visions of occupying high station and wielding power. At one time he confessed himself to be "one of the most ambitious men alive" and stated that the three positions which appealed to him most, and any of which he would be glad to fill, were those of the premiership in the government of a great State, the proconsulship of a great empire, or the authority and influence possessed by the author of literary works which were assured of immortality in the esteem of mankind. But so well aware was he of the narrowing temptations of a longing for outward and personal success that he sternly resisted it in his own case and kept it in strict subordination to those moral and religious principles which from the beginning of his work at Laleham were to him the very breath of life; indeed he seems to have achieved a measure of cheerful contentment at the prospect of continuing in humble and sequestered service to the end of his days, for it was in 1823, four years after the commencement of his work at Laleham, that he wrote:

I have always thought, with regard to ambition, that I should like to be aut Caesar aut nullus, and as it is pretty well settled for me that I shall not be Caesar, I am quite content to live in peace as nullus.[1]

It is interesting to compare his experience in this respect with that of Newman at about the same period. Newman has left the statement on record that his constant prayer was to be preserved from the temptations incidental to high position in this world—a prayer strangely fulfilled, for it was not until the very sunset of a life prolonged beyond the common lot of man that one of the most notable personalities of the nineteenth century received the public recognition and honour which his friends and admirers felt to be his due.

Arnold in later life frequently spoke of his years at Laleham as the happiest in his adult experience, and in this view he was probably right. His duties absorbed him and he thoroughly enjoyed them. He had discovered his powers as a teacher and developed them to the full, believing that the principal part of his vocation in making use of them was that of laying the foundations of manly and intelligent Christian character in his pupils. For himself this placid period was one of incuba-

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 35.

tion, so to speak—the time in which, beyond all others, he found himself and acquired the practical creed which accompanied him in the arduous years which followed. It was now that on the initiative of Julius Hare he was introduced to the study of Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, a work which more than any other contributed to changing his outlook upon the world. He had to learn German in order to read it, and this brought him into contact with a world of thought of which he had hitherto known nothing and with methods of literary criticism which supplied him with new criteria in dealing with the complicated problems of the Christian sources. It has been said that if Newman had known German there would have been no Tractarian movement ; but this is a doubtful dictum, for it should not be forgotten that Pusey was a German scholar and was better acquainted than Arnold himself with the trend of expert German inquiry into the historicity of the New Testament records of our Lord's ministry and the faith of the primitive Church. But to Arnold the discovery of Niebuhr was like an intellectual re-birth. Hitherto he had been a Grecian both by training and inclination, and had regarded Rome as the inferior though materially more powerful inheritor of the

Greek tradition—a true enough judgement in its way.

His early love for Aristotle and Thucydides had much to do with the formation of his own mind, and he never outgrew his affectionate reverence for these authors. To him Aristotle was and always remained " the dear old Stagyrite ", and his delight in Thucydides knew no diminution when he came to compare him with the Roman historians : hence the devotion with which he gave himself to what cannot fail to be accepted by competent judges as his most valuable and enduring work in the field of scholarship, his edition of Thucydides. He admitted rather wistfully that he lingered round the subject, loath to leave it, when his treatment of it was ready for the press. He found in Athens and in the study of the phenomenal emergence of the Greek commonwealths generally a far more congenial and inspiring theme than that of the amorphous and unwieldy growth of Roman world power. But Niebuhr gave him a new viewpoint and made him truly an historian. He appreciated for the first time the focal importance of Rome in the story of the human race and especially in the creation of the stable institutions of civilized human society. Without Rome it would be impossible

to understand or account for the existence of western civilization with its fundamental postulates of respect for law and order and of the first essential of moral or material progress, namely, the idea of public right and of the duty of maintaining it. In this particular, if in no other, Arnold would find himself almost at one with Mr. Hilaire Belloc at the present day. So impressed was he with the centrality and permanence of Rome as making possible the spread of the gospel of Christ itself, and hence of the establishment of the ideal Christian State, that, as the admiring but independent disciple of his German master, he set himself the task of writing a history of Rome, partly as a corrective to the atheism of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, and partly as a reasoned exposition of principles and tendencies whose results were observable in nineteenth century England. He did not live to complete his conception, nor, to speak quite frankly, is it at all on the same level as the classic it sought to supersede. The first two volumes contain little of value for the modern student, boy or man; the third is on a higher plane and shows a firmer grasp on the part of the author of the forces and events with which it deals—that is to say, with the issues at stake in the second Punic war. What

the further volumes might have been had he lived to write them we can but conjecture. His intention was to continue the work down to the coronation of Charlemagne and the beginning of the mediaeval empire; and within these limits it is possible that he might have achieved something of peculiar and lasting effect in the related spheres of morals and politics. That such was his design is certain. As it is, however, candour compels the admission that he falls far short of Bryce on the one hand and Lecky on the other.

It is rather as a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* and the *Quarterly Review* that Arnold's mastery of his subject and insight in the treatment of it are most manifest, and it is on these that his reputation chiefly rests; in fact it was through these and his Thucydides, as well as being the interpreter of Niebuhr, that he came to be selected for the chair of Modern History at Oxford in the closing year of his life. His limitations are obvious. That he should have been able to visit Rome as he did in 1827, without visiting or caring to see any of its immortal artistic treasures and without apparently being able to enter into or understand anything of the spirit of Roman piety and devotion as exhibited in the imperial

city, is most strange. Here he shows himself less susceptible to a precious part of the ancient Roman inheritance than some of his contemporaries of his own school. It was on this occasion that he made the acquaintance of the Chevalier Bunsen, the successor of Niebuhr as Prussian Minister at the Vatican, and began a friendship that was to have momentous consequences. English churchmen have more than one reason for remembering Bunsen, but the most noteworthy is the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric in 1841 mainly on his initiative, an event to which we must revert more specifically in a later chapter. His influence on Arnold was considerable and continuous from 1827 onward, as appears again and again in the latter's correspondence. Thus he writes to Julius Hare in 1833 :

> In Italy you met Bunsen, and can now sympathise with the all but idolatry with which I regard him. So beautifully good, so wise, and so noble-minded ! I do not believe that any man can have a deeper interest in Rome than I have, yet I envy you nothing so much in your last winter's stay there, as your continued intercourse with Bunsen.[1]

He named one of his children after the statesman in order to have as he said "a daily

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 364.

present recollection" of this revered friend close at hand in the person of a member of his own family. His letters to Bunsen himself are a curious blend of respect and vigorous discussion of tremendous themes. Why he should have thought Bunsen so extraordinarily well qualified to pronounce on English domestic problems must remain a mystery; it is at any rate an assumption which he shared with Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. As late as 1838 we find him testifying that he placed the admirable Prussian on a supreme pedestal in his regard.

> I could not express my sense of what Bunsen is without seeming to be exaggerating; but I think if you could hear and see him, even for one half hour, you would understand my feeling towards him. He is a man in whom God's graces and gifts are more united than in any other person whom I ever saw. I have seen men as holy, as amiable, as able; but I never knew one who was all three in so extraordinary a degree, and combined with a knowledge of things new and old, sacred and profane, so rich, so accurate, so profound, that I never knew it equalled or approached by any man.[1]

This is high praise, even extravagant, and is only worth quoting as illustrative of the thoroughness of Arnold's surrender to the domination of a mind he felt to be superior

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 140.

to his own. Perhaps domination is not quite the right word, but it is not far wide of the mark.

The intense moral seriousness which characterised Arnold from this time forward, both in relation to his work as a teacher and as a publicist, is perhaps traceable in some degree to the intercourse above mentioned, though in all probability the friendship did no more than accentuate what was already a tendency of his own mind. It must be admitted that the playfulness and high spirits, amounting sometimes even to boisterousness, which marked his hours of relaxation in the company of his pupils and of his own family, did not imply the possession of any strong sense of humour ; here in fact his nature was deficient, or he might have succeeded better in his handling of the intricate problems that increasingly began to occupy his thoughts. He dreaded the advent of a deadly struggle between the forces of good and evil in his own time, a struggle greater than the world had yet known, a wrestling of Christ with anti-Christ, wherein the faith of all good men would be tried to the uttermost. This belief was one of his reasons for writing his *History of Rome*, the first of three works he had in contemplation and hoped to live to

complete with the same end in view. The second was a Commentary on Holy Scripture intended as an illustration of his theory that the scientific exposition of the Bible was the most important object of Christian theology. The third would have been a treatise on Christian Politics, dealing with the inter-relations of Church and State. These books were never written; the Roman history itself, as we have noted, was only partially completed before death put an end to his plans in this direction. But his miscellaneous writings are sufficiently copious, together with his sermons and correspondence, to leave us in no doubt about the course his mind would have pursued had he lived to realise his aims. It was at Laleham that these aims became explicit to himself and shaped and fashioned almost all that he had yet to say and do in more conspicuous spheres.

CHAPTER III

RUGBY

WHEN at the end of the summer term in 1827 the headmastership of Rugby School became vacant representations were made to Arnold to offer himself as a candidate for the position, which he was at first disinclined to do, and it was not until comparatively late in the process of selection that his candidature was submitted to the trustees. He was already for several reasons considering the desirability of a change of residence and of securing an appointment with a more assured income, but he was not sure that he possessed the proper qualifications for directing the work of a great public school. It was his hesitation on this point that kept him from applying earlier for the responsible post by whose tenure he will always be best known to the world ; for it is as Arnold of Rugby that his name has become famous. It was, as already stated, chiefly owing to the confidence in

him expressed by Dr. Hawkins, then Provost of Oriel, in a letter to the trustees that the election finally went in his favour. Hawkins prophesied that if Arnold were chosen he would change the face of education all through the public schools of England. What the prediction meant was that a new spirit would be breathed into the dry bones of obsolete pedagogic methods, not that the system itself would be radically transformed. Hawkins' prescience was remarkably justified, for what he foresaw and desired was exactly what Arnold lived to accomplish and nothing else, so far as school education was concerned. There was a widespread feeling at this time that the condition of the public schools was unsatisfactory both in regard to academic efficiency and to religion and morals. There were many complaints that the classics and history, which were then universally looked upon as the true foundation of a liberal culture, were not taught as they should be and that a boy could leave school without having acquired more than a superficial knowledge of them. It is to be feared that the same is true to no small extent to-day, but the field of education has been so widened as to include compensating advantages which were hardly thought of a hundred years ago.

It was in the sphere of discipline and ideals of conduct that reform was most urgently called for, and this Arnold could and did supply.

He began his new work in August 1828, about eight months after his appointment thereto, the interval having been occupied in making what he considered to be a necessary preparation for the duties of the office, thinking out the principles on which he intended to proceed, making his stipulations and laying his plans. What these were has been placed on record so emphatically that they cannot be misunderstood. He would brook no interference from governors or parents in the exercise of his functions—a point of some importance, as was afterwards proved when his political opinions began to excite censure. Arnold held that the authorities who entrusted him with this high responsibility were entitled to dismiss him but not to interfere with him; he must be allowed the unfettered use of his prerogative as headmaster in accordance with his own judgement as to what was right and wise in the management of the school. And he had strong views as to the form that management ought to take. He insisted on practising the right of expulsion oftener than was customary, holding that in so doing he

would generally be acting in the best interests of the boys expelled as well as in that of the school as a whole. If a boy were not doing well in a particular environment he might do better in another, or there might be considerations of various kinds which would militate against the profitable continuance of the companionships formed and the influences exerted upon him at a certain stage in his career; no necessary disgrace attached to having him removed. This was a novel doctrine to most people, and gave rise to sharp criticism, but Arnold persevered with it to the end. When moral turpitude was in question the expulsion of a culprit was public and penal; when it was not, a request to the parents procured the withdrawal of the pupil privately. Naturally the latter class of cases constituted the majority: the former were exceptional and rare, and became fewer with the passing of the years and the growth of a healthy *esprit de corps*.

Arnold as headmaster had no scruples about corporal punishment; he always maintained that it was no degradation to young boys to be physically chastised, and that there was no other method of inducing them by fear of consequences to face what was uncongenial or to avoid what was debasing.

He vigorously defended this opinion against the attacks which were frequently made upon it by persons whom he believed to be animated by a false and sentimental humanitarianism. An innovation for which he was severely blamed was that of allowing elder boys as prefects to inflict some measure of corporal chastisement upon juniors. Bullying he would not have if he could prevent it; but the exercise of a reasonable discretion in the matter of discipline could be safely entrusted to seniors with advantage both to themselves and to the younger boys who were placed under their supervision. From this method of delegating authority Arnold never deviated, and the power it conferred was seldom abused despite its obvious risks. It had the merit of introducing into school life a sense of honour and standard of probity higher than had been heretofore known. All schoolmasters are aware of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of breaking through the barriers of reticence imposed by custom and tradition and making themselves fully acquainted with what is going on outside the limits of their immediate cognisance. Boys are rigidly conservative creatures with their own special codes of honour, often curiously distorted and irrational, but unyieldingly adhered to. None

must be a " sneak ", whatever the provocation endured or the infamy practised in secret. That by silence an evil may be virtually condoned makes no difference to the schoolboy mind ; to tell is not permissible. Any person who has had the training of youth knows well the difficulty thus created and the consequent impossibility in most cases of detecting or eliminating a source of mischief. Corruption may set in and work untold harm in a school community ; every one may know it, the headmaster included ; it may spread like an infectious disease, and yet there may be no means of extracting information which will lead to the discovery of what is actually wrong. Arnold knew this : hence his determination to throw upon the sixth form the duty of dealing with situations which the masters as such were unable to come in contact with. He relied upon his own personal influence with the prefects, who were admitted to an intimacy with him which the rest of the school did not share, to inculcate high principles of behaviour and to lay firmly the foundations of good character and self-respect. On the whole the effort was successful, though it is apparent from the picture of Rugby painted in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* that not even Arnold was able to

prevail at all times against adverse influences. Bullying and deception will probably go on as long as youthful human nature is what it is, but at least it may be claimed that no better system can be devised for countering these evils than that of encouraging the growth of the sense of individual moral obligation and of loyalty to the best interests of the society of which the individual is both a product and a factor, and this is a process which can hardly begin too early.

Arnold never believed that his success in this direction approximated closely to his desires. Occasionally in his correspondence he gives vent to his disappointment at the results and to his horror at the depravity of which the youthful heart is capable. His intense moral seriousness rendered him unable to view the familiar expressions of the latter in any light-hearted manner or to consider them tolerable. Here again he was the child of his age, for the newer psychology is helping us to take a more patient perspective and to understand better than Arnold and his contemporaries could what Pope had seen long before, that

> The surest virtues thus from passions shoot,
> Wild nature's vigour working at the root.

It must be acknowledged that Arnold did

not change the face of education in his own or any other school if the phrase be held to mean the introduction of new methods of teaching and the breaking of new ground in the subjects to be taught. He simply followed the traditional lines and never exhibited any consciousness of the desirability of finding new ones. The Greek and Latin classics which had furnished his own intellectual training remained in his opinion the best and surest means of laying the foundations of a humane culture; he could not conceive of any satisfactory substitute for them. "He denied altogether the educational value of Science."[1] He neither foresaw nor was capable of entertaining any sympathy with the methods of a schoolmaster like Sanderson of Oundle, that notable product of a later generation and of a world of knowledge and thought undreamed of in Arnold's day. He was strictly conservative in this sphere without knowing it, and we do him no injustice in suggesting that the revolutionary changes which have since taken place for good or ill in school and university education in this

[1] Tuckwell. Walrond also remarks in his article on Arnold in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: "For science as such, for art as such, he cared comparatively little; for music not at all. 'Flowers', he used to say, 'are my music', and his love for them was like that of a child."

country owe nothing to his inspiration. Had he been gifted with a greater measure of the imaginative faculty he might have been a great pioneer of what has been rightly termed "the new teaching"; as a fact he was not. He would have despised and recoiled from its basic assumptions, its chief dangers being, as we now perceive only too well, its utilitarianism and materialism. Arnold might have saved us from these, though it is doubtful if any man could; they are incidental to the stage through which western civilisation has passed and is passing. The explosively sudden rise of modern physical science has produced a new type of mind, or at least a new attitude to life, and its most characteristic fruits hitherto have not been very attractive. One of them was the Great War; another is the rapidly proceeding exploitation of the world's reserves of raw material; a third is the intensification of economic strife whether between nations or between organised capitalism on the one hand and organised labour on the other. How far the infusion of a different spirit into national education as a whole might have availed to preserve us from the worst effects of the marvellous increase in the assertion of man's power over nature, which has been the most distinguishing

feature of our time, who can say? The one thing certain is that the most pressing problems of the hour are the direct outcome of the new mentality which science has brought into existence. Arnold's vision did not extend to this and he did nothing to prepare us for its advent, though he saw clearly enough the beginnings of the social disturbances from which we are now suffering and the growing antagonism of rich and poor. Strange as the statement may seem to some who know him only as a great schoolmaster, he was not in any sense an innovator; he left the English public school system exactly where he found it with one notable exception.

The exception was the new stress which was placed on the importance of religion and morals. This was Arnold's unique contribution to the education of the children of the upper classes in the nineteenth century, a contribution whose influence is still being felt, though less potent than it was. The force of his own personality and his strong conviction of the fundamental importance of religion as an instrument of education were the principal factors in his success. Had his ideals been universally adopted and faithfully realised on a national scale, the secularity of temper which has invaded education as it has invaded every-

thing else would undoubtedly have been less pronounced than it is and less dangerous to national character. He had an entirely clear conception of what he wanted to achieve as a teacher. "The business of a schoolmaster, no less than that of a parish minister", he said, "is the cure of souls". He set before himself the hope of making Rugby a place of truly Christian education. Every school, in his view, should be a Christian school, just as the State should be a Christian State. He acted consistently on this principle throughout; it was the reason for his interference in politics which brought upon him a considerable amount of blame and at one period a visitation of odium and unpopularity which only began to disappear in the last year or two of his life. He held that *mutatis mutandis* the same principles applied to the government of a school as to the guidance of the body politic, and that the one set of duties bore immediately upon the other; it was his constant practice to draw parallels between the two and illustrate their mutual bearing; again and again, in conversation as well as in the course of instruction in school hours or in sermons delivered from the school pulpit, he would draw attention to the fact that the same vices which were the cause of trouble in the smaller

arena were the source of manifold evils in the larger. He believed that the teacher's vocation should be looked upon as before all things a branch of the ministerial calling and entered upon in the same spirit. Mere cleverness as such, either in master or pupil, he had small respect for, though he was exacting in the requirement of sustained and conscientious work from all under his charge. This in turn sprang from his perception that the habit of idleness was morally disintegrating, more so than less insidious forms of temptation. He had a firm belief too in the mutual stimulus of the moral and intellectual faculties; he delighted to welcome ability in a pupil when conjoined to high principle and steady industry, but was never blind to the fact that ability could be perverted to evil uses and had wrought much havoc in the world. If he was tireless in preaching the gospel of work—to employ one of the catch phrases of the present day—it was because he was so deeply convinced that it was integral to the gospel of Christ and inseparable from any true apprehension of its precepts.

His natural impatience sometimes led him to treat delinquents severely, even to the infliction of condign punishment on the spot, as the author of *Tom Brown* illustrates for us

in the story of the nervous youth upon whom Arnold swept down with violence in reprisal for a stupid rendering of a line from a favourite author ; the headmaster of Rugby was not by temperament a person who would suffer fools gladly. He fired his pupils with his own zeal, and the fervour of his interests communicated itself to them. It is remarked with justice that at Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates who came up from Rugby were always distinguished by a certain ardour and earnestness in their academic pursuits, which occasionally led to the extreme of taking themselves too seriously and exposed them to ridicule. But the high place which Rugby speedily and deservedly took in the winning of academic distinctions and in the quality of the human material it turned out won for it universal respect and rendered criticism harmless. The headmaster's forceful personality was stamped upon the institution.

From one end of it to the other, whatever defects it had were his defects ; whatever excellences it had were his excellences. It was not the master who was beloved or disliked for the sake of the school, but the school which was beloved or disliked for the sake of the master. Whatever peculiarity of character was impressed on the scholars whom it sent forth, was derived not from the genius of the place, but from the genius of the man. Throughout, whether in the

school itself, or in its after effects, the one image that we have before us is not Rugby, but Arnold.[1]

Hence, although the influence of the preceptor was so plainly evident in the type of Rugbeian his system created, yet it cannot fairly be said that his pupils were merely second-rate reproductions of himself. On the contrary, those of them who achieved any measure of success in after life were marked by a certain originality and independence of mind not very usual in the England of the period. They had been taught to think for themselves and they learned their lesson so well that few if any of them ever fully adopted as their own Arnold's characteristic opinions either in religion or politics. Probably they knew little about them while in *statu pupillari*, and when they went out into the world they were already prepared to form their own judgement upon the problems they had to meet. This is exactly what Arnold himself would have wished; he did not look for docile disciples but for men of robust intellect and fearless regard for principle, and these were what he obtained; he neither formed nor sought to form a specific school of thought.

It may be questioned whether he ever understood boys well. This may seem a

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 105.

surprising statement in view of what has been advanced above and of the general admiration felt for his great achievement in a field where he was quite unrivalled; nevertheless there is good evidence for it. There was something Jovine in his demeanour that excited awe rather than affection in the younger minds subjected to it. He had too little humour to enable him to enter sympathetically into the workings of boyish natures; he was apt to be severe when he should have been forbearing, and indiscriminate in his condemnations. He was horror-stricken at what he called tokens of depravity which were after all little more than the natural naughtiness of childish humanity, a stage to be outgrown, not to be visited with harsh penalties or, with what was almost as disproportionate, expressions of mournful despair at the presence of what he thought to be unrelieved evil. But that he was aware of his deficiency in this respect and set himself to conquer it is proved both by his utterances from time to time and his methods of government. He imposed careful restraint upon his natural hastiness of temper. "Why do you speak so angrily, sir? I am doing my best" was the protest of one of his Laleham pupils; and of the episode Arnold confesses "I never was more ashamed in my life".

He compelled himself to take an interest in his boys individually, especially the seniors, and this interest grew with the years, so much so that, as his sermons prove, he came in time to acquire remarkable insight into character. His gentleness and considerateness in times of distress and suffering have often been commented upon and not seldom awakened astonishment in those who experienced these qualities for the first time. There was a deep vein of emotionalism in Arnold which occasionally showed itself unexpectedly in the presence of some great need or in the vindication of some high moral principle. It has been observed that there were occasions when in pronouncing sentence upon a culprit in the presence of others he would be forced to pause and recover his composure before being able to speak, so profoundly did he feel the seriousness for good or ill of what was taking place. He was frequently affected even to tears by his disappointment at any pronounced failure of character on the part of a boy of whom he had formed high expectations; nothing else could grieve him so much; for, as has been already observed, he held that his work as a schoolmaster was first and foremost a religious work, the cure of souls, not merely or chiefly the giving of instruction in the

subjects necessary to what is termed a liberal education.

His power over the school did not owe much to any particular charm of manner. He was apt to be abrupt, almost formidable, in his mode of address, which repelled rather than attracted. His habitual bearing was stern and distant, more so probably than he himself was aware of, and in the case of timid boys this had a frightening effect. They adored "Black Arnold" as they called him, but it must have been difficult to love him. Only the older boys were admitted to his intimacy, and not all of them. Not a few boys left school without ever having come into immediate relations with him at all; any lasting influence he was able to exercise upon them was derived from what they saw and knew of him in his official capacity. Strangely enough his personal interest in them appeared to increase after their departure. It was his custom to correspond with them and keep in touch as far as possible with their progress at the university and elsewhere. Nor was this solicitude confined to words only. He liked to have his former pupils visit him and consult him in all their difficulties. To some he gave pecuniary help if they stood in need of it when preparing for the professions, or

he would, and often did, at considerable sacrifice of his own precious time and convenience, act as tutor to them when preparing under pressure for important examinations. It was from actions like these that he won much of the intense personal attachment that those who knew him best felt for him as they grew to manhood. One pupil, for example, who had little or no personal intercourse with him during school days, and who never reached the sixth form, says: "I am sure that I do not exaggerate my feelings when I say that I felt a love and reverence for him as one of quite awful greatness and goodness, for whom I well remember that I used to think I would gladly lay down my life".[1]

The intensity of these impressions was produced principally by the famous sermons in the school chapel, or perhaps, more strictly speaking, by the immediacy of the power therein exerted by a great personality keyed to its highest pitch. The school chaplaincy fell vacant soon after Arnold came to Rugby, and he immediately applied for the position himself, stating that he felt it was one which the headmaster ought to hold. In his letter to the trustees requesting the appointment he offered to forgo any salary that

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 180.

might be attached to the office, adding: "Whoever is chaplain, I must ever feel myself, as headmaster, the real and proper religious instructor of the boys". From this time forth he preached regularly on Sundays to the whole assembled school, an innovation which soon became copied in other public schools. He took great care in the preparation of the sermons, which were almost all fully written and attracted great attention when they came to be published. His pulpit was his throne, and it was from there that the tremendous moral authority he wielded was most potently exercised. The unanimous testimony of those who heard the sermons is that it was the man himself who most impressed his youthful hearers. The reader of the discourses to-day will note a marked development both in style and content between the earlier and later sermons; the former are more censorious in tone and less gracious and wisely helpful than the latter, and the language in which they are expressed is more rugged and less felicitous in allusion and illustration. The preacher was accused by his critics of seeking to influence the minds of his young hearers in favour of his own convictions concerning matters of current theological controversy, but the charge was

without foundation. He was careful to avoid doing any such thing, not because he would have shrunk from it had he deemed it expedient to introduce subjects of the kind into school discourses, but because he had another object; his purpose was to deal mainly with the practical problems with which the boys themselves were already familiar, problems of a personal and moral character. The closest scrutiny would not discover more than three or four sermons at most out of a long series which contain anything approaching to the discussion of themes which at the moment were agitating the ecclesiastical world, and these exceptions are more apparent than real. The stress is placed in almost every sermon upon ideals of duty with their corresponding applications or upon the snares and temptations that beset the path of youth.

Arnold was as much the teacher in the pulpit as out of it, but in the pulpit he strove to impart a true knowledge of the meaning of manly Christian virtue and of the way to cultivate it. There was nothing abstract or recondite in his method of doing this. The instructions given were as simple, straightforward, and to the point as an experienced teacher could make them, and as such

they were listened to with an interest and attention rarely to be expected from hearers so young. Matthew Arnold's well-known poem, "Rugby Chapel", does not exaggerate in the smallest degree the profound impression produced by the headmaster in the exercise of what he conceived to be his highest function, that of acting as the spiritual preceptor of the boys committed to his charge.

Did Arnold succeed in his primary aim? Yes, if we look for results only in the general level and tone of the institution over which he presided, though he himself never rated his own achievements therein very highly. Few of his pupils attained to eminence in any walk of life; but when we consider what the moral and religious atmosphere of the public schools of England was before Rugby set an example of a different standard, we must credit Arnold with the chief part in bringing about the salutary change which took place about the middle of last century. A new spirit of soberness and decency, of thoughtfulness and conscientiousness, of modesty in demeanour, of loyalty to the body politic and to the obligations of truth and honour, took possession of the class that was educated in such schools as Eton,

Winchester, Harrow, and Rugby. That spirit remains. Is it too much to say that it saved the nation in the most terrible crisis through which it has yet been called to pass, the world war of 1914–18? When we praise the public school system for the quality of the material it turned out, as so nobly revealed in that stern testing time, it is but just to remember the important part that Arnold played in making it possible. But for him it could hardly have been what it is to-day.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS FORCES

THE Church of England in the early decades of the nineteenth century was a vastly different organisation from what it is at present. Probably no hundred years in our history have produced changes more momentous than those which have operated between the commencement of Arnold's tenure of office at Rugby and the period through which we are passing now. How far he foresaw these changes or contributed to them we shall have to consider in its place. The field of inquiry is wide and we must perforce confine ourselves to the discussion of its more important features only, especially those with which Arnold was most closely associated and wherein he made his influence most strongly felt.

We cannot understand the principal forces at work in any age without taking account of its predecessors, and this is as true of the

religious developments of the former half of the nineteenth century as of the utilitarian spirit that pervades the twentieth up to the present. It used to be thought that the eighteenth century had comparatively little to do with that remarkable reawakening of Catholic sentiment and fervour which, mediated through the Tractarian movement, has given to the Anglican communion throughout the world a distinctive colouring it did not formerly possess; but this was a mistaken view which fuller knowledge has rectified. Canon Storr says that the eighteenth century had been regarded by many, even among ecclesiastical historians, "as a period of Erastianism in ecclesiastical politics, and of an uninspiring latitudinarianism in theology. It witnessed, indeed, the Evangelical revival: but a staunch Churchman was not called on to pay much attention to a movement so deeply tainted with the spirit of Methodism".[1] To-day the student of English Church history thinks differently. "He finds that the eighteenth century is the seed-plot of many of the ideas and movements which give life and colour to the hundred years that follow."[2] In nothing is this statement more

[1] *Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, chap. iii. p. 25. [2] *Ibid.*

demonstrably correct than in the fact that Tractarianism itself was to no small extent the fruitage of tendencies that were at work in the eighteenth century and long before, aiming at exactly the same ends and inspired by the same fundamental conceptions. We might reasonably go farther and say that the principles on which Tractarianism reposed have never ceased to be recognised as operative within the English Church, whether before or after the crucial event or series of events known as the Reformation. The controversies then excited have never wholly died down. Neither the Elizabethan nor the Caroline settlement finally disposed of them, and in varying forms and degrees they are as active as ever in our midst to-day.

What is the Church of England? Here we have the grand question at issue in regard to Prayer Book revision as in every discussion concerning ritual and doctrine that has divided parties in the Church from the middle of the sixteenth century onward. It is no new question but in essence the same as that which sent both Catholic and Protestant to the stake under the rule of Henry VIII., produced the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., provoked the Marian reaction, shaped the Thirty-nine Articles, defined the royal

supremacy and the somewhat unstable compromise established by Elizabeth, cost Laud his head, and was a prime factor in fomenting the Puritan revolution, was answered in one way by the great Caroline divines and in another by Richard Baxter and his fellow-objectors—a Dissenter in the strict sense Baxter never was—and is still being firmly and positively elucidated in one sense by exponents like Bishop Barnes and in a widely different sense by learned authorities like Dr. Darwell Stone. Where is the truth to be found amid this medley of constructions and interpretations? Critical onlookers are accustomed to speak of it as demonstrating the innate weakness of the Anglican system as such that the question could be asked at all. Roman controversialists are at one with thorough-going Free Churchmen in denouncing the illogical character of that system and its manifest absurdities in practice; it is not one system but a congeries of mutually incompatible systems forced into an artificial conjunction by State enactment and the *vis inertiae* of use and wont. Some even among the friends and adherents of the national Church predict that it will not be able to hold together for very long, but that fission must inevitably take place sooner or

later, perhaps with the advent of disestablishment. The present writer has heard this view expressed by at least one diocesan bishop and the reasonableness of the prophecy conceded by another. It is reassuring to note that precisely the same misgiving was expressed by Arnold and other members of his school a hundred years ago and for similar reasons. There is less likelihood of disruption now than there was then, and if we cannot answer the question above stated in a manner entirely conclusive, we can at least remind ourselves that it has had a sufficiently long history to justify us in believing that the institution to which it relates will continue to survive and play an increasingly important part in the spiritual leadership of the English-speaking race.

For since Arnold lived the Church of which he was a devoted and loyal son has extended her borders and immensely widened her sphere of influence. Who could have foreseen a hundred years ago that to-day the chair of Augustine should be the venerated centre of a vigorous world-wide communion embracing several hundred sees and in close and friendly relations with the ancient Eastern patriarchates and with the non-episcopal Churches of our own and other lands? This efflo-

rescence of Anglicanism is one of the most notable phenomena of our age and one which will doubtless become yet more potent as the reunion movement grows and gathers strength. It may be hazardous to prophesy, but there seems already to be something more than a possibility that the great and growing Anglican communion may ultimately prove to be the pivot or focus of the practical measures that will be taken for bringing to an end the scandal of a divided Christendom. Here again the special function of the Church of England has been foreseen and pointed out by men of an earlier day. It may have dawned upon the vision of Laud, as it certainly did upon shrewd observers of his work, both friendly and hostile; and the comparatively unknown predecessors and inspirers of the Oxford movement, Alexander Knox and Bishop Jebb of Limerick, explicitly stated that this was their hope.[1] This is a fact which should not be lost sight of in any attempt to estimate the significance of the Anglican revival in the nineteenth century.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that some of the most sympathetic and instructive studies that have yet been made in the development of modern Anglicanism

[1] *Vide* Brilioth, *Anglican Revival*, chap. iv. and appendix.

have been the work of foreign scholars. Among these the Swedish Archbishop of Upsala and his fellow-countryman, Dr. Brilioth, may fairly be reckoned pre-eminent. Both agree in regarding the Church of England as occupying a unique position of vantage among the reformed churches, so far as the hope of reconciliation between Catholicism and Protestantism is concerned, in virtue of the fact that this one great Christian communion has succeeded in preserving for nearly four centuries the main features of both.

This fact may yet turn out to possess a more radical importance for the future of western civilisation than is generally realised. Will political unity follow upon religious unity or *vice versa*? Can the wrangling nationalities of Europe become a comity without the aid of the Church, and can the Church furnish effective moral leadership while remaining itself divided? Will the League of Nations prove to be the matrix of a United States of Europe, or must the ideal wait for its achievement until the Church becomes again what it once was, the visible centre and soul of a world-order based on something better and more secure than what Bishop Temple calls "the substitution of

enlightened selfishness for stupid selfishness"? These are questions which only time can answer, but that they can be propounded at all is indicative of the direction that the destiny of the Church of England may take. Brilioth says:

> The separation of the English Church from Rome in the sixteenth century is rather a phase of the nationalist movement of breaking away from the undivided Latin Church, which began in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, than part of the great Continental Church Reformation. The English reformed Church is in the first place national.[1]

This is no longer true if it ever were true without considerable qualification. The connection between England and Rome begun in the sixth century did indeed bring the former more closely within the orbit of the culture and social order bequeathed by the Caesars. Mr. Hilaire Belloc is no doubt right in insisting that in this sense the entire modern world, England included, owes it very being to pre-Christian as well as post-Nicaean Rome. But Ireland, which was already Christian and Catholic, was actually anti-Roman in sympathy and obedience until England lost the greatest opportunity she ever had of winning the spiritual allegiance of this recalcitrant people, at the moment when she

[1] Brilioth, *Anglican Revival*, Introduction.

made her own breach with Rome ; from the time of the Reformation onward Ireland became as loyally Roman as England speedily became the reverse. But England had never been Roman in the same degree as the Romance countries which were more completely Latinised by the imperial legions ; she was ever insular, independent in outlook, undocile in temper. To represent the English Church as ever having been the obedient child of the Papacy is to misstate the facts. The English Church did not begin to be national in the sixteenth century ; it had been national all along, though in faith and worship it was one with the rest of Christendom. The Church of England as by law established is no longer the Church of the whole nation and has ceased to claim to be such ; but on the other hand Anglicanism as the organised expression of an historic form of faith and order has received a new orientation and become world-wide.

This is a development which had not dawned upon the mental horizon of the Caroline Fathers, as we may respectfully call them, nor of their eighteenth-century successors, nor of the State Churchmen of whom Arnold was the best representative in the earlier half of the nineteenth. The eighteenth

century on the whole lacked the historical sense. It was the age of Latitudinarianism in doctrine, of a tepid formalism in piety which was reflected in the coldness and slovenliness of the prevailing modes of worship, of an uninspiring rationalism in philosophy and apologetic. If we except the great work of Bishop Butler and the devotional writings of William Law, it cannot truly be said that eighteenth-century divines have contributed much of permanent value to the thought of the world; they produced nothing comparable to what the Germans were doing in philosophy and criticism, or the French in political theory and experiment. The Church was characterised by a dread of "enthusiasm" which Dissenters shared, both remaining blind to the fertilising influence of Methodism and unsympathetic for a considerable time to the Evangelical Revival within their own borders—a movement largely inspired by Methodism, though not always conscious of the debt. Augustine Birrell is perhaps right in his belief that the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield had much to do in a period of widespread ignorance and social discontent with saving England from the horrors of the French Revolution, and it is a fact which ought to be fully acknowledged that the

evangelical preachers of the eighteenth century were the pioneers of social reform. These helped to compensate in some measure for the spiritual deadness which was the direct result of eighteenth-century insistence on an arid intellectualism in religion.

Evangelicalism reached its zenith in this country in the closing years of the eighteenth century. It was already a declining force when Arnold left Oxford, though still the dominant influence in the Church. Arnold himself says of it that its chief defect was its tendency to undervalue the worth of reason and to substitute sentimental phraseology for earnest and conscientious thinking; he blamed the party too for its growing aloofness from the practical problems of the hour, an accusation entirely just, for, as Brilioth rightly points out, the social passion of the pioneers of the Evangelical movement was not maintained by the inheritors of their tradition. A selfish and narrow other-worldism soon took the place of the fine and wholesome fraternal spirit which so clearly discerned and so bravely strove against the incipient evils of the Industrial Revolution; the tremendous problems of which the Church is fully conscious to-day and is frankly and honestly facing in our vast urban areas are

mainly due to the failure thus indicated. At the close of the eighteenth century Evangelicalism was strong enough to have compelled attention to these problems, and to some extent did so, but by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth it had sunk into a mere coterie content to cultivate a form of piety which ignored the hideous sores of the body politic and concentrated interest upon personal salvation and the life to come. Of this change of attitude Arnold writes as early as 1828:

> The Evangelicals (fail) by their ignorance and narrow-mindedness, and their seeming wish to keep the world and the Church ever distinct, instead of labouring to destroy the one by increasing the influence of the other, and making the kingdoms of the world indeed the kingdom of Christ.[1]

Language of this kind anticipates by a generation the similarly stern strictures uttered from the pulpit by Frederick Robertson and the propaganda of Kingsley and Maurice. Newman was not blind to the same defect in the circles in which he had been brought up, for, as he willingly and emphatically confessed, though he owed his earliest and most lasting religious impressions to his evangelical training, he came in time to see

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 87.

that one great danger of Evangelicalism was its tendency to lay stress upon pious feelings rather than upon sanctity. This tendency in its outward effects is precisely what Arnold condemned, an indifference to social obligation, to the duty of fighting against vested wrong and harsh injustice, to the ideal of giving corporate application to the ethical teaching of Christ.

But Evangelicals never at any time constituted a majority either of the clergy or loyal laity of the Church of England. They had their greatest vogue, as is so often the case with religious movements, after their spiritual force had begun to diminish. In the early years of the nineteenth century they still possessed the most celebrated preachers and had succeeded in creating a certain tone which was without doubt the most fashionable and generally acceptable wherever religion was taken seriously. The novels of Anthony Trollope enable us of a later day to realise something of what this was and the widespread influence it was able to exert. The earlier Evangelicals were less conconspicuously loyal churchmen than the later ; they attributed more importance to the gospel than to the institution. But their view of the gospel was restricted to a few

outstanding points which were often presented in a crude and disproportionate manner. Their whole outlook was individualistic and their Christian experience mainly subjective. They said a great deal about the plan of salvation but little about sacramental grace or membership of the body of Christ. They dwelt more upon fellowship with the invisible than with the visible Church, and much more upon the relations of the individual soul with the world's Redeemer than with one's fellow-men. Not polity and organisation held a first place in their interests, as seems to be the case with most of us to-day, but one's personal standing with God and the doctrinal grounds thereof. Hence the chief emphasis in their teaching was placed upon soteriology, and even in this they held a substitutionary view of the efficacy of the Atonement which they were accustomed to push to the extreme of representing the Saviour as being punished in the sinner's stead and bearing in His own person on Calvary the wrath of God which was the sinner's desert. Few would venture to enunciate a theory so crass to-day, but there is no lack of illustration of the uncompromising manner in which it was proclaimed from many pulpits in the early nineteenth century. That it outraged the

moral sense was either not perceived or was held to be in some mysterious way its chief recommendation—the righteousness of Christ being imputed to the believer and the believer's guilt to Christ. There is no doubt about the thoroughness with which the theory was commonly presented. Christ and the sinner were made to change places, as it were, in the sight of God. The Father and the Son stood on opposite sides in the transaction. By a forensic fiction the latter vicariously became the fallen human race and as the scapegoat of man's iniquity suffered the withdrawal of the Father's countenance and became the object of His reprobation and the victim of His inexorable justice. By thus bearing the penalty due to sin the divine Redeemer frees all who take advantage of it from the obligation to bear the penalty themselves, a penalty which in their case would be unremitting and everlasting.

Such, crudely stated, but not more crudely than many of the discourses which expounded it, was the basis of the plan of salvation, as it was called. That it was unscriptural and, according to the definitions of historical Christian doctrine, heretical, would not for a moment have been acknowledged by those who preached it with fervour or received it

with gladness as the very heart of the Christian evangel. The truth it contains is obvious; it is that which gives to the gospel of Christ the vitality it has shown itself to possess in every age and under a thousand different forms, the truth that the saving principle in the life of the individual or the race is that of the willing acceptance of undeserved suffering in the service of righteous love. For the rest we cannot but acknowledge that the exaggerations and distortions of the view above stated were not found inconsistent with the development of some of the finest forms of Christian piety. Arnold, like Robertson and others of a later period, does less than justice to these in some of his public utterances. There was a peculiar beauty associated with the evangelical type of character at its best which has never been surpassed. In this the new Evangelicalism of to-day, with its breadth of outlook and its frank acceptance of the assured results of scholarship and the revelations of science, is hardly the peer of the old; we need to get back in some degree to the contemplative and devotional habit inculcated by the Evangelicalism of a hundred years ago. Its chief strength lay in the personal religion it so carefully promoted and in the very unworldliness which so often

had a selfish side. It valued so greatly and experienced so deeply the work of the Holy Spirit that it could not fail to exhibit, as we know it did, the fruits of the Spirit in heart and life. If it said little of sacramental grace it said much about the divine grace which was the sustenance of the soul that was led by the Spirit and whose life was hid with Christ in God. It knew the blessedness of heavenly things and spoke of them with a sureness of tone which is comparatively rare among religious teachers of any school to-day.

Its principal weakness was that it had virtually no theology. This judgement may seem unwarrantable in view of what has been advanced above concerning the rigid insistence of Evangelicals upon certain tenets which are in the main identical with those of the Fundamentalists in America at the present time. But the dictum is true of both nevertheless. The Evangelicals of a century ago produced no thinkers and few scholars. They had not a glimmering—few of the English clergy had—of the application of the historical method either to Biblical study or to the investigation of Christian origins. They held firmly by the inerrancy and verbal inspiration of Scripture, and were minutely ingenious in their interpretations of its meaning. Their

intellectual outlook was consequently a very narrow one ; not many men of culture were included in their ranks, for their system did not encourage learning. The title of one of John Foster's essays, " On the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion ", is the accurate expression of contemporary opinion upon the unsympathetic attitude of the ordinary evangelical Christian towards intellectual interests. These savoured too much of " the world " to be considered desirable in earnest evangelical eyes, and were avoided accordingly or at least relegated to a very subordinate place among the spiritually enlightened. Never was the line between the Church and the world—or, more accurately speaking, between the converted soul and the world—more strictly drawn than in evangelical circles a hundred years ago. So distinct was the cleavage that meddling with public affairs was considered inadmissible except in a detached and indifferent manner. Politics as such were not for the child of God, but the same prohibition did not apply to business. The late Mr. Gladstone pointed out with considerable truth that one of the chief defects of Evangelicalism was that it placed no real check upon money getting ; a good evangelical Christian might go on

accumulating as much as he could so long as he regarded himself as indebted to the Lord for his prosperity and made what he considered to be a conscientious use of his gains, systematically setting aside a certain proportion for religious uses. The question hardly seems to have occurred to any one brought up under these auspices whether he were morally entitled to make the best of both worlds in this way. Our Lord's warning against the peril of great possessions was indeed enlarged upon, but seldom with the object of getting down to first principles and inquiring whether equity consisted with the enjoyment of opulence while want abounded at the door; material comfort, if not part of the creed of Evangelicalism, was at any rate a frequent accompaniment of it. The factory system grew out of it—or, if this be a too drastic accusation, was not hindered in its growth by the evangelical principles of a large proportion of the class the system enriched, for, as is well known, some of the wealthiest families among the new industrial magnates were leading representatives of the evangelical school. Clear-sighted in every other respect and full of moral passion, they seem to have been strangely blind to the horrors engendered by *laissez faire*, as witness the opposition of

Bright and Cobden to the legislation of Lord Ashley.

This illustration may be thought wide of the mark inasmuch as it belongs to a somewhat later period, and, in the case of Bright, has something to do with the history of a sect, or rather of individuals associated with a sect, which has always been honourably characterised by an interest in public questions which Anglican Evangelicalism had ceased to evince at the period under review. But it is germane to the subject as bearing upon a tendency inherent in the Evangelicalism of the first two or three decades of last century. It would not have been true a generation earlier, when Wilberforce and Clarkson were the dynamic of the agitation against the Slave Trade, or the Methodist preachers emulated the early Franciscan Friars in their acceptance of voluntary poverty for the sake of their mission, or John Howard and Elizabeth Fry worked for prison reform. We cannot divide one section of Evangelicals from another in this respect; they all formed part of one great stream of spiritual force. Nor did the other-worldliness of the later Evangelicals lead to an entire abandonment of the philanthropic temper. Their aloofness from concerns of public

moment did not induce an equally rigid aloofness from the duty of ministering to the sick and needy. No other body of men and women has done so much, both for good and ill, to make the Church of England an eleemosynary institution. What has been called "soup and blankets" Christianity derives mainly from them. What they did not see was that they were content to profit by a form of government which afforded them protection and security and to whose moral maintenance they contributed nothing in return.

Their zeal for souls was admirable but uninformed and inadequate to realities. To them conversion was the beginning and the end of Christian effort and propaganda; they did not supply, and apparently were not conscious of the need of supplying, any definite and systematic instruction and discipline for the converts that came under their care. The Evangelicalism of to-day is of another pattern and is more truly the inheritor of the Arnold tradition than of that of Charles Simeon. To begin with, it has swung right away from Calvinism, as it is only fair to say early nineteenth-century Evangelicalism was already in process of doing. Present-day Evangelicalism regards salvation as a process

rather than an event and corporate as well as individual. The older Evangelicals thought of the Incarnation principally in the light of their soteriology; Christ became man in order to die for man's salvation. The Evangelicalism which to-day is the hope of the future makes belief in the Incarnation as central to Christianity as Anglo-Catholics of the *Lux Mundi* school first taught us to do. It is leading the way in sound and reverent criticism of the gospel sources, or, to say the least, accepts as a matter of course the assured results of the application of the scientific method to the whole field of Biblical study, which was what Arnold and his sympathisers vainly contended for without perhaps seeing very clearly whither their own principles were to lead them. The exponents of Evangelicalism to-day regard the person and teaching of our Lord as fundamental to a true apprehension of the gospel; their soteriology has consequently a far wider range than that of their predecessors, and a more ethical import. They take a more optimistic view of the possibilities of human nature, and are less concerned "to snatch souls as brands from the burning" than were the preachers of the older school; the terrors of hell are no longer held over the heads of the

unregenerate. There may be loss as well as gain here.

The recoil from insistence upon the necessity of individual salvation may have gone too far. All the emphasis to-day is being placed upon social salvation, and this leaves something to be desired. It has obvious deficiencies, and the chief of these is the tendency to concentrate attention upon temporal and utilitarian values to the virtual neglect of the culture of the devout life wherein our fathers excelled. There is need for redressing the balance once more. The secular spirit of the age has invaded the Church to a greater extent than our spiritual pastors and masters seem to be conscious of, and there is a corresponding lack of interest in personal religion ; saints in the true sense of the term are rarer than they were, and the fewness of their numbers does not seem to be noted. We are so busily engaged in making the world a better place to live in that we have little time to spare for those who are not of the world. In our very commendable zeal for righteousness as between man and man or class and class or nation and nation, we are in danger of forgetting that the chief aim of religion should be to lift men's thoughts to a region wherein the knowledge of reality is attainable only by ourselves

becoming what we seek and which is there to be found. The primary appeal of Christ is to the individual conscience, and cannot be dispensed with if the highest good He has to offer is to be attained by the individual or the race. The Evangelicals of a century ago, with all their limitation of vision, saw this more plainly than their descendants. May it not be that in the near future the Church will recover something of the other-worldliness that distinguished them while continuing to maintain a more liberal and wider outlook upon the needs and perplexities of struggling and suffering humanity in an age of transition and unrest?

CHAPTER V

SOURCES OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

THE brief survey which we are making of the condition of Church life in England when Arnold first came upon the scene must include some account of the antecedents of Tractarianism, the most portentous and significant outcome of factors upon which we have already touched. Things were not going well with the Church in the early nineteenth century. There was a considerable amount of anti-ecclesiastical feeling, partly the result of the influence of the French Revolution, but partly due to causes which were indigenous. The abuses of the patronage system were glaring; the standard of clerical ability and zeal was low—we have already remarked that the Evangelicals never constituted more than a minority of the clergy—and the dominant school of thought was that of sceptical radicalism. Statesmanship was inclined to show scant respect for

the susceptibilities of the defenders of a national establishment of religion, as was demonstrated when in the debates upon the Irish Church Bill the Prime Minister bade the bishops set their house in order. The threat was no idle one, for if a change had not come the probabilities are that serious inroads would have been made from different directions upon the status and privileges of the Church of England as well as those of the Protestant establishment in the sister kingdom.

Canon Storr in his *magnum opus* points out that the familiar nomenclature of parties in the Church—High, Low, and Broad—had not the precise significance a hundred years ago that it possesses for us.[1] High Churchmen were State Churchmen—Erastians in the generally accepted use of the term, though not in a sense of which Erastus himself would have approved. Latitudinarians were rather incongruously included with Evangelicals as Low. The Broad is a more modern designation, and was usually held to imply, not only doctrinal liberalism, but a friendly attitude towards Dissenters which few Anglicans shared before Arnold's time. Leaving out the Non-Jurors we might reasonably say that

[1] Chap. v. p. 79 ff.

the High Churchmen of the later eighteenth century were almost as Protestant in their sympathies as the majority of their countrymen; they remained more or less in touch with the reformed churches of the Continent and were as anti-Roman in attitude. They might be classed as moderate Anglicans. But there was another group which did not come within any of these categories, a group which stressed the supernatural character and commission of the Church and regarded the connection with the State as non-essential though perhaps expedient. Storr styles this group the Orthodox, a not very satisfactory term, but convenient if the specific connotation given to it be kept in mind. The Orthodox group is the lineal predecessor of the Tractarians, and had probably more to do with bringing the latter into existence than has been generally recognised. It was the soul of the resistance to religious and political liberalism, a resistance none the less real because comparatively inarticulate till the genius of Newman and his enthusiastic collaborators gave it voice. The orientation of the Orthodox was rather towards Rome and the East than towards the reformed churches —not that it was Roman in sympathy to the extent of desiring Papal recognition of the

validity of Anglican Orders, or cared except in rare cases to copy Roman devotions. The clergy belonging to this group did not differ greatly from their fellows in their customary modes of worship. They were entirely loyal to Prayer Book forms as then commonly understood and interpreted, which meant that elaborate ritual was discouraged and sacramental teaching not insisted upon. The bareness and dullness of the Anglican rite of a hundred years ago as contrasted with the greater brightness and decorum of the services in most parish churches to-day would strike most of the present generation of worshippers as strange and unbecoming. The difference has principally been made by the Oxford movement, but it should not be overlooked that the pioneers of the movement attributed much less importance to ceremonial than their Anglo-Catholic successors do; Newman himself deprecated paying too much attention to it. Nevertheless the development was inevitable once the implications of sacramentalism were perceived and accepted. It was these implications that Tractarianism thrust upon the minds of persons already prepared for them by the quiet and continuous witness of the Orthodox group. The men of this group did a great deal to help to

keep alive in the English Church throughout a somewhat dreary period the sense of mystery in religion, of those non-rational or super-rational elements whose presence is denoted by the sacred symbol rather than the spoken word, and by reverence paid to times and seasons and consecrated places rather than by dependence upon interior states alone.

This general attitude on the part of the members of the Orthodox group towards the Christian verities made them share with the more ardent of State Churchmen a strong prejudice against all forms of Dissent. Latitudinarianism in doctrine was equally objectionable to them. They held firmly by the principle of authority, however vaguely it might be construed, as it always has been and still is in the Church of England. Order with them was a vital principle, and they viewed with disfavour and condemnation all tendency to trifle with it; they would not be found to-day on the side of any person or party that sets bishops and Canon Law at defiance. They counted among their numbers some of the most learned as well as devout men of their time. In fact, taken as a whole they were as distinguished for scholarship and intellectual weight as the Evangelicals were the reverse. In proportion to their numbers no section of

the clergy or laity outshone them in this respect. The Tractarians came into a goodly heritage.

The Oxford movement, as has already been suggested, was therefore not really new —at any rate in doctrine. It was but a re-assertion of the main positions of Archbishop Laud mediated through the Non-Jurors and the later Orthodox group. It emphasised the Catholicity of the English Church and the Apostolic Succession of the clergy, but these were tenets as fully insisted upon by their seventeenth-century predecessors though less definitely by the eighteenth. They fell back upon the undivided Church of the first four General Councils for their justification of Anglicanism as a polity and of its claim to be considered a living branch of the Church Catholic. If the secession of the Non-Jurors had not taken place it is humanly probable that this claim would not have been lost sight of by the majority of Englishmen, as it undoubtedly was during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the earlier decades of the nineteenth, until reaffirmed and redefined by the Tractarians.

The man who more than any other anticipated and must have considerably stimulated the genesis of the Oxford movement was a

layman, Alexander Knox. It is interesting to note that Knox was a collateral descendant of the leading spirit of the Scottish Reformation, that uncompromising foe of prelacy and fashioner of Presbyterianism, John Knox. A still more interesting if less incongruous fact is that of Alexander Knox's indebtedness to John Wesley for the intensity of his Christian life. Wesley was never other than a loyal Anglican though force of circumstances made him what Knox never became, the founder of a new sect; on the contrary Knox, all unconsciously to himself, became the devoted apologist and inspirer of a view of the meaning of Anglicanism to which the Tractarians were destined to give new substance and force. How far he may be said to have directly influenced the men who made the Tractarian movement cannot positively be ascertained, but it seems reasonable to conclude that through his connection with Bishop Jebb of Limerick he did a great deal in preparing the atmosphere in which the ideas of Newman and his friends so readily spread. That the Tractarians knew something at first hand of the teaching of Knox is certain, but then Tractarianism itself is not the sole factor in the revival of the claim of the Anglican Church to Catholicity, as we have

already seen, nor is it the only source of the new emphasis that began to be placed in the early years of the nineteenth century upon belief in the reality of sacramental grace.

The movement proper is usually held to date from Keble's famous assize sermon in 1833 on national apostasy, following upon the introduction of the Irish Church Bill to Parliament. The sermon was a reasoned protest against political and theological liberalism and a solemn call to Christian believers in the apostolicity of the national Church to rally to its support. Incidentally the sermon was a denunciation of the view that the Church existed by the will of Parliament or derived its commission from any temporal authority. The plea set remedial methods in motion, and a society was promptly formed with the object of making them effective and creating an enlightened opinion in their favour. Newman, already a considerable force in the life of his university, took the first step in bringing the men together whose co-operation resulted in the issue of the *Tracts for the Times*. The Tracts were his own idea, and the first three—on the Ministerial Commission, the Catholic Church, and Apostolic Succession—were written by himself and were as anti-Roman as they were anti-

Latitudinarian in spirit. From then onward until Tract Ninety appeared at the beginning of 1841, wherein a not very ingenuous attempt was made to give to the Thirty-nine Articles a technically Catholic interpretation, Newman was the principal contributor to the series. In 1845 he made his submission to the Church of Rome, and with his departure the movement in its academic phase may be said to have come to an end, but in a wider and more popular signification to have made a new start and burgeoned forth into Anglo-Catholicism.

To understand adequately what the Tractarians were aiming at, and why they chose the course they did, it is necessary to realise that all thoughtful and earnest adherents of the English Church in the nineteenth century were alarmed by the prevailing tendencies.[1] Arnold no less than Keble or Newman loathed and feared these tendencies and sought to find an antidote to them, but his way was not their way. He considered their remedy to be as bad as the disease, perhaps worse ; they thought the same of his. But, as will become increasingly clear as we proceed, he and they were entirely at one in their

[1] Fairbairn, *Catholicism, Roman and Anglican*, says, p. 81 : " The movement that made many men better Christians by making them Catholics, did a good deed for Religion."

perception of the evils that called for strenuous opposition on the part of all who loved and believed in the faith once for all delivered to the saints as conserved and expressed in the venerable forms of the established religion.

An unimaginative realism had laid hold of the popular fancy, just as it is doing to-day, though with a wider range. The French Revolution had changed the face of the world; nothing could be quite the same again as before that catastrophic event took place. The final defeat of Napoleon and the reaction in favour of autocratic or oligarchic methods in government were both more apparent than real; the effervescence of the new spirit was working everywhere and in no country more than our own. Here the agitation for electoral reform, which triumphed in the passing of the great measure of enfranchisement in 1832, was only one evidence out of many that the days of political privilege were numbered and that the age of democracy had begun. The Church was unpopular because it was believed to be a bulwark of abuses and to be resisting innovation, nor was the belief altogether unfounded; the clergy as a body were opposed to reform and displayed scant sympathy with the aspirations of the

masses. One of the most unfortunate failures of vision of which the Church of England as a whole has ever been guilty was the failure to perceive the overwhelming importance of the rise of the great industrial communities, and of the call to put forth concerted and sustained effort to meet the new spiritual needs thus created. The present Archbishop of Canterbury stated the simple truth when he said some time ago that the Church has not lost hold of the allegiance of the industrial population of this country : it has never possessed that allegiance ; the opportunity was lost, flung away, through sheer lack of spiritual statesmanship at a critical time. To Arnold's everlasting credit it must be recorded that he more than any man among his contemporaries of his own standing saw the danger and the urgency of meeting it in a broad and generous way. His fellow-clergy taken on the whole were more concerned to defend their own temporalities and to present an unyielding front to every demand for reform, than to rise to the occasion in the endeavour to guide the as yet only half-articulate aspirations of the proletariat into wise and righteous channels.

The outcry became fiercest on both sides when the Church was required by the govern-

ment of the day to face the certainty of having to surrender a considerable part of the privileged position it enjoyed as being, in theory at least, the whole nation in its religious aspect. A series of measures passed by Parliament changed very greatly, as was quickly perceived, the relations of Church and State and made it increasingly impossible to hold that the two were identical. The abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, and later the carrying of the Catholic Emancipation Act, inaugurated a new era in this respect, while the passing of the Irish Church Bill seemed to loyal Anglicans to be the beginning of the end. The same ministry which passed the Reform Bill of 1832 was generally believed to be intent on the spoliation of the Church, and it was this belief which more than any other led to that rally of the forces of reaction which, though far from being identical with Tractarianism or even to any great extent sympathetic with it, yet served to make it possible ; there would have been no Tractarian movement if the cry of the Church in danger had not been raised. And the danger was quite real ; it sprang from the utilitarianism of the time. Henceforth the Church of England could only rightly be regarded as one sect among

others, though the strongest in point of numbers, and holding a precariously favoured position which exposed it to a growing volume of criticism from those not belonging to its communion. The State as such could do no other than admit and act upon the fact that a new situation had been created; it had to become more detached and gradually to assume the rôle of an authority which had nothing directly to do with distinguishing between one form of faith and another but to behave with impartiality towards all. We have seen within the past few years where this now almost generally accepted political doctrine has led. The Enabling Act is one fruit of it; the reunion movement is another. The culmination may be disestablishment.

For a time, however, this indifferentism, if one may so term it, received a decided check in the success of Tractarianism, and still more perhaps in the innate conservatism of the English people. The tide turned; a marked revival of earnest churchmanship took place which has grown from strength to strength and shows no signs of receding. The abuses of Church life of a century ago would now be unthinkable, and the devotion and efficiency of the clergy as an order is far higher now than then though their temporal

resources have diminished in comparison with those of other callings and of the general advance in the standard of comfort. There has been a definite and sustained increase in the devotion of the laity also to their Church and a deepening of the quality of the service they are accustomed to render. It is fair to say that this salutary change is owing to Tractarianism more than to any other single influence. The Evangelicalism and sporadic religious liberalism of the early nineteenth century had small part in producing it; they were found wanting at the crisis and were much less effective in stemming the torrent of secularism and materialism than the younger movement which derived its immediate inspiration from Oriel College.

That there has as yet been no corresponding evidence of a quickened spiritual life or a return to the observances of religion from the side of the nation as a whole has to be deplored. Thus we are confronted with the paradoxical development that the Church is at once stronger in the best sense and more sectional than in older times—more conscious of itself as an entity, better organised, a truer spiritual solidarity, more faithful to its vocation—and that at the same time the nation, through various causes, and

as part of the general tendency of civilisation, is less rather than more disposed to listen to the traditional Christian appeal, places greater stress upon ethical values but almost solely in their temporal application, and pays ever closer attention to the task of exploiting the resources of the natural world and the gains accruing therefrom, and displays but little inclination to lift its gaze to eternal horizons. There is less religious assurance than there used to be, and more zeal for practical service. That society as a whole can maintain this attitude is unlikely; change must come sooner or later. Will the Church know the day of her visitation on the next occasion?

The reasons for both of the above contrasted tendencies are easily discerned; we have already touched upon some of them, but two more remain to be mentioned. The one is the influence of Romanticism, and the other the rise of modern physical science. As will be seen at once, these two made in opposite directions and became the inspiration of two sharply differentiated types of mind. One result of this portentous bifurcation has been that to-day we can no longer take a common educational basis for granted in dealing with the English mind; the kind of mentality that is the characteristic product

of the one set of influences is not that which is evolved by the other. When and how this embarrassing dualism will be resolved no one can at present say. The indications are that it will persist for long to come.

Romanticism was an impulse which took many different forms in the life of the early nineteenth century. It was a phase of the reaction provoked by the uninspiring intellectualism and lack of feeling for the past which characterised the eighteenth. It was a leaven which wrought spontaneously in the imaginative arts, in the growth of a new appreciation of the historical method and its application to religious and social problems, in scholarship, philosophy, literature, criticism, and manners. It liberated the repressed emotions of mankind, or at least of that portion of mankind which inherited western culture, and it stressed the value of mystery in a sense not unfavourable to a spiritual interpretation of the phenomena of existence. Hence it was not the Greek and Latin classics upon which it fed most avidly but what it esteemed to be the later and more picturesque and less well-known period that lay between Graeco-Roman civilisation and the emergence of modern Europe. That it idealised this period we are very well aware, but it also

rendered the inestimable service of throwing into relief the spiritual values which were cherished in the Middle Ages and which were nobler and richer in quality than aught that cultured paganism had known. The mediaeval period was a period of incubation, as it were, whence humanity has derived its acquaintance with the vital principles of a stronger and more abiding civilisation than any of its predecessors. With all our shortcomings and inconsistencies, and all our as yet unsubdued primitive instincts and passions, the life we live is one of finer promise than Cicero or Pericles dreamed of, and it is so because the mediaevalists grasped and austerely worked out its diviner implications. The eighteenth century failed to see this ; its culture was a pale reflection of an outworn classical achievement with little or no idealism in it. The mentality of the age is well illustrated by Horace Walpole's well-known dictum that it would be a gain to the world when those barbarous monuments of past ignorance and superstition, the Gothic cathedrals, could be swept away and make room for the more graceful and humane architecture of ancient Greece. Happily the rise of Romanticism, notwithstanding its illusions and half-lights, rescued us from such crass misjudgements.

The glorious marvel of the Gothic style has its parallel in the scholastic philosophy, and both are a revelation to the modern mind of the grasp that our mediaeval ancestors had of eternal verities and their perception of the sublime mysteries of being.

How it comes about that a new tendency takes shape in the thought and feeling of mankind, or a new spirit lays hold of great numbers of people of diverse temperaments and upbringing, is unexplainable by any known laws.

> History [says Troeltsch] cannot be regarded as a process in which a universal and everywhere similar principle is confined and obscured. Nor is it a continual mixing and remixing of elemental psychical powers, which indicate a general trend of things towards a rational end or goal of evolution. It is rather an immeasurable, incomparable profusion of always-new, unique, and hence individual tendencies, welling up from undiscovered depths, and coming to light in each case in unsuspected places and under different circumstances.[1]

This is always true of the *Zeitgeist* ; it is like the wind that bloweth where it listeth and of which no man can tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth. It is not enough to say of Romanticism that it was a recoil from the shallow formal precision of eighteenth-century

[1] *Christian Thought*, p. 13 f.

modes of thought and lack of feeling; it sprang from something deeper, but we know not what, and neither did those who pioneered it. The Romantics were not consistent with each other; they worked in different fields, were men of different aims, tastes, and interests; and yet they all obeyed a common impulse and were swayed by similar sentiments. It has been said, for instance, that there was a fundamental opposition between Romanticism and Tractarianism because the former made for greater spiritual freedom and the development of individuality, whereas the latter was distinctly reactionary in temper and fell back upon a rigid view of tradition and ecclesiastical authority. This is no doubt correct, but it was long before the opposition was perceived, and it is undeniable that Romanticism was a tide on which the bark of Tractarianism managed to float. On the Continent the Romantic trend, in so far as it became religious in tone, communicated a certain stimulus to Roman Catholicism. So far as Protestantism was concerned it was a hindrance rather than a help. Rome provided an atmosphere in which the Romantic spirit found something congenial—the cultivation of the sense of mystery, of the supernatural, the emphasis upon the sacramentalism of life,

the constant appeal to the past and to much that was venerable, beautiful, and alluring in the record of human aspiration and accomplishment. It is not therefore strange that in England Romanticism should discover similar affinities with the aims of the Tractarians. Certain it is that but for Romanticism Tractarianism would have lacked the dynamic force it soon showed itself to possess, and it was Romanticism that swayed the movement away from the direction it first took. The originators of the movement never thought of appealing to the Middle Ages for confirmation of their tenets, but their followers soon did, and it was Romanticism which principally influenced them in so doing and gave to the movement the distinctive colouring it afterwards assumed and continued to bear.

Arnold himself never came under the influence of Romanticism except on its poetic side, and even then only in a moderate degree. His love of history was not inspired by it at all but by his delight in Thucydides and his later acquaintance with Niebuhr. It was his friend J. T. Coleridge, as we have noted, who first introduced him to the works of Wordsworth and the Lake poets. Up till then Arnold had been, and knew himself to be, wanting in the imaginative faculty. He

had a penchant for ballad poetry but none for the expression of the Nature Mysticism of which Wordsworth's poetry was the finest example. His later intimacy with the poet when they became near neighbours assisted this development and considerably widened his outlook. Henceforth his appreciation of Nature as a middle term between the human soul and divine reality, as in fact a medium for the apprehension of God, became steadily stronger until his death. It was the greatest thing that Romanticism did for him.

But he remained comparatively untouched by the still greater factor of the new mentality which characterised the nineteenth century, the portentous advance of physical science. Romanticism is now a waning if not a spent force ; science has come to occupy almost the whole foreground of human interest. Few, if any, foresaw a hundred years ago whither it was to lead or how fundamentally it would change the ordinary man's attitude to life. It ran counter to Romanticism, though the two never came into open conflict. The former was aesthetic, the latter at first mechanical ; the one was concerned primarily with spiritual values, the other was not. In its earlier stages nineteenth-century science was more inclined to identify reality with

matter than it is now and to dismiss from the purview of the inquirer all thought of special creation or divine purpose. The scientific mind was and is animated by one all-dominating desire, the desire for truth at all costs—truth not of the speculative order, but the truth of observed facts, facts collated and classified from close, unremitting, and exact study of the phenomenal world. It takes nothing for granted, and one of its noblest moral qualities is that it requires and engenders minutely conscientious faithfulness to the method of patient investigation, the result whereof it shares with all the world. As T. H. Huxley said in his Romanes Lecture, it requires one primary act of faith from all who would enter its fellowship, faith that law is operative always and everywhere, that every effect has its adequate cause, that the universe is an intelligible whole and not a mere fortuitous congeries of entities of which nothing can be affirmed with certainty.

This doctrine is of course not new. The Noetics had enunciated it in other terms while modern science was as yet in its swaddling clothes, and as far back as the Renaissance that amazing man of genius, Leonardo da Vinci, had seen and stated it with exultation and awe: "O marvellous

Necessity, thou with supreme reason constrainest all effects to be the direct results of their causes, and by a supreme and irrevocable law every natural action obeys thee by the shortest possible process ".

Unfortunately scientific men in the middle of last century were not always careful to observe the limitations prescribed by their own method. The stage of controversy was only just beginning when Arnold died, but already an aggressive materialism was aiming in the name of the new knowledge to give a theoretical explanation of the nature of things in general and of the way in which they have come to be what they are which was totally inconsistent with any real belief in the Christian revelation. It ruled out miracle entirely in any definition of the term; attacked the inspiration of Scripture on the now familiar ground that the cosmogony of Genesis was incompatible with the geological record; regarded man and every other living thing as a mechanism merely; and showed that the earth and the life that inhabits it were of far greater antiquity than theology had hitherto postulated. *The Origin of Species* had not yet been written, but its principal implications were being bandied about long before and used as weapons

to discredit the Christian faith. Arnold was hardly conscious of these things, and still less of their tremendous outcome in the field of education. Science as such scarcely came within his mental orbit, and he had no perception of its worth, though, as we shall see, particularly in his relations with the new University of London, he had to reckon with some of its cruder and uglier fruits.

CHAPTER VI

ARNOLD'S VIEWS ON CHURCH AND STATE

ARNOLD'S deep concern in respect of the religious and political attritions of the time early displayed itself in his life as a teacher. Even during his quiet and sequestered life at Laleham his correspondence shows that he was watching with the keenest interest the ecclesiastical and social ferments which were developing on a national scale. As far back as 1822 he states in a letter to Tucker that he already had in mind the purpose of producing popular histories of Greece and Rome "cleared of nonsense and unchristian principles", and that he hoped some time in the future to add to these works a complete ecclesiastical history. He gives as a reason for these undertakings his conviction "that the world is gradually dividing more and more into two divided parties of good and evil—the lukewarm and the formal Christians are, I imagine, daily becoming less numerous".[1]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 70.

This was a feeling which never left him; he continued to the end of his life obsessed by the idea that a fearful conflict between the forces of good and evil was impending and would be marked by unexampled catastrophes. Thus he writes to F. C. Blackstone in the autumn of 1831:

> I believe that "the day of the Lord" is coming, *i.e.* the termination of one of the great αἰῶνες of the human race; whether the final one of all or not, that I believe no created being knows or can know. The termination of the Jewish αἰών in the first century, and of the Roman αἰών in the fifth and sixth, were each marked by the same concurrence of calamities, wars, tumults, pestilences, earthquakes, etc., all marking the time of one of God's peculiar seasons of visitation.[1]

And again:

> My sense of the evils of the times, and to what prospects I am bringing up my children, is overwhelmingly bitter. All in the moral and physical world appears so exactly to announce the coming of the "great day of the Lord", *i.e.* a period of fearful visitation to terminate the existing state of things, whether to terminate the whole existence of the human race, neither man nor angel knows,—that no entireness of private happiness can possibly close my mind against the sense of it.[2]

He confessed to J. T. Coleridge that he had a strong desire so to reproduce the story of

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 304.
[2] *Ibid.* to W. W. Hull, i. p. 305.

Graeco-Roman civilisation as to undo some of the harm that had been wrought by the atheism of Gibbon and the utilitarianism of such doctrinaire thinkers as Bentham. How he carried out this project we now know, but it was only a part, and not the principal part, of what he believed needed to be done in meeting the distresses of the period and saving both Church and State from shipwreck. He never altogether freed himself from the foreboding that things might go altogether wrong with England and the English Church, and, strange as it may seem to later observers, he more than once gravely contemplated the possibility of being compelled to emigrate. Thus writing to the Rev. G. Cornish in June 1832: "Would that we might ever meet, before perhaps we meet in America or at sea after the Revolution";[1] and to his nephew J. Ward, a little later, he unburdens himself in similar terms: "I hope we may both manage to live in peace with our families in the land of our fathers, without crossing the Atlantic".[2]

There were indeed moments in his career when he contemplated emigration for less depressing reasons. For instance, his compassionate interest in Ireland led him to feel

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 317. [2] *Ibid.* p. 320.

at one time "that there was more to be done there than in any corner of the world", and he entertained the notion of fixing his residence in that country and taking pupils, "to try what one man could do towards civilizing the people, by trying to civilize and Christianize their gentry".[1] He had some thought of making his home in Australia, not so much through despair of the prevailing tendencies in the mother country, as through an eager and almost boyish pleasure at the prospect of taking part in the sound development of a new and vigorous and growing community.

If we are alive fifteen years hence [he once more writes to Tucker] I think I would go with you gladly to Swan River, if they will make me schoolmaster there, and lay my bones in the land of kangaroos and oppossums. I laugh about it; yet if my wife were alive, and able to go, I should think it a very great benefit to the good cause to go out with all my family, and become a Swan River man; and I should try to get others of our friends to go out with us. My notion is, that no missionizing is half so beneficial, as to try to pour sound and healthy blood into a young civilized society; to make one colony, if possible, like the ancient colonies, or like New England—a living sucker from the mother country, bearing the same blossoms and the same fruits, not a reproduction of its vilest excrescences, its ignorance, and its wickedness, while all its good elements are left behind in the process.[2]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 242. [2] *Ibid.* p. 257.

This was only a year after his commencement at Rugby, but that the idea was not merely a fleeting one is evident from later and more serious communications. Addressing Sir J. Franklin, the newly-appointed Governor of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in the middle of 1836 he says:

> I sometimes think that if the Government would make me a Bishop, or principal of a college or school, —or both together,—in such a place as Van Diemen's Land, and during your government, I could be tempted to emigrate with all my family for good and all.[1]

But in this same letter he shows himself fully aware of the special drawbacks and dangers attaching to life in a colony which had been a convict settlement.

> One shrinks from bringing up one's children where they must in all human probability become lowered, not in rank or fortune, but in what is infinitely more important, in the intellectual and moral and religious standard by which their lives would be guided.

Three and a half years subsequently he was thinking of New Zealand, his correspondent on this occasion being Sir Thomas Pasley.

> If they would make you Governor and me Bishop, I would go out, I think, to-morrow,—not to return

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 45.

after so many years, but to live and die there, if there was any prospect of rearing any hopeful form of society.[1]

Almost in the last hour of his life he gave utterance to a similar sentiment to one of his most attached students.

One inducement I should have if they would send me as Bishop to any of the Australian colonies, that there should be at least one Bishop in those parts, who would endeavour to build up a Church according to my idea of what a true Church should be.[2]

But all this was subordinate to the one great purpose of his life, which was the expression of the Christian idea in ordered human society. It was what made him an historian as we have seen, and in that particular field turned his attention to Rome rather than Greece as the chief storehouse of the illustrative principles he most desired to interpret to his own age—wherein he was indubitably right. A Grecian he was, a Grecian he remained; his study of Thucydides is on the whole a better work and one more congenial to his tastes and training than what he compelled himself to do in the case of Rome, chiefly, though not in inception, under the inspiration of Niebuhr. Both the Thucy-

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 191. [2] *Ibid.* p. 324.

dides and the Roman history were begun in 1822 at Laleham and constituted what he called his amusement between nine and ten at night.

The same steady and unswerving purpose underlay his choice of a position as schoolmaster. He says of his candidature for Rugby that he had "a most sincere desire to make it a place of Christian education". Before entering upon his duties as headmaster he states to his friend F. C. Blackstone that he had come to look upon education as his business in life, with the one simple object of doing what he could to make it the instrument for the upbuilding of Christian character. His ideal of national education, remarks Tuckwell, he condensed into the phrase "Christianity without Sectarianism". So strongly was he convinced of this that it was the chief reason for his disappointment in and withdrawal from his membership of the Senate of the University of London in 1838, a subject which demands a section to itself. The secular character finally decided upon for an institution of whose future he had entertained the highest hopes was a severe blow to a cause for which he had strenuously and unselfishly laboured throughout the major part of his mature years. In

its effect upon himself it was comparable to the dual defeat sustained by Newman long afterwards in the failure of his attempt to establish a Catholic seminary at Oxford and a Catholic university in Ireland.

But it is in the ecclesiastical sphere that his principles found most combative expression. Of this fact Brilioth says:

> Few men outside its own course have for the critical history of the Oxford movement an importance comparable to that of Arnold who, brought up in chiefly the same surroundings, became the exact opposite of Tractarianism in the thirties, embodying all that it lacked and avoided: historical conception, theological and political liberalism, Erastianism.[1]

His *Principles of Church Reform*, which appeared as a pamphlet in 1833, was the first of his publications to arouse opposition and involve him in controversy.[2] He issued an explanatory *Postcript* in the same year of a still more uncompromising nature. He argued, as Hooker had done in that classic of Anglicanism, the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, that Church and State were fundamentally one and the same though to some extent different in

[1] *Anglican Revival*, p. 86. Cf. Tuckwell, *Pre-Tractarian Oxford*, p. 113.

[2] But note the preface to the volume of sermons issued in 1832, and the thirty-second sermon in the same collection wherein his Erastian principles are explained and defended on spiritual grounds.

function. As late as 1840 in a letter on his differences with the Liberal party he writes:

I look to the full development of the Christian Church in its perfect form, as the Kingdom of God, for the most effective removal of all evil, and promotion of all good: and I can understand no perfect Church, or perfect State, without their blending into one in this ultimate form. I believe, farther, that our fathers at the Reformation stumbled accidentally, or rather were unconsciously led by God's Providence, to the declaration of the great principle of this system, the doctrine of the King's Supremacy:—which is, in fact, no other than an assertion of the supremacy of the Church or Christian Society over the clergy, and a denial of that which I hold to be one of the most mischievous falsehoods ever broached,—that the government of the Christian Church is vested by divine right in the clergy, and that the close corporation of bishops and presbyters,—whether one or more, makes no difference,—is and ever ought to be the representative of the Christian Church. Holding this doctrine as the very corner stone of all my political belief, I am equally opposed to Popery, High Churchism, and the claims of the Scotch Presbyteries, on the one hand; and to all the Independents, and advocates of the separation, as they call it, of Church and State, on the other; the first setting up a Priesthood in the place of the Church, and the other lowering necessarily the objects of Law and Government, and reducing them to a mere system of police, while they profess to wish to make the Church purer. And my fondness for Greek and German literature has made me very keenly alive to the mental defects of the Dissenters as a body; the characteristic faults of the English mind,—narrowness of view, and a want of learning

and a sound critical spirit,—being exhibited to my mind in the Dissenters almost in caricature. It is nothing but painful to me to feel this; because no man appreciates more than I do the many great services which the Dissenters have rendered, both to the general cause of Christianity, and especially to the cause of justice and good government in our own country; and my sense of the far less excusable errors, and almost uniformly mischievous conduct of the High Church party, is as strong as it can be of any one thing in the world.[1]

This important passage is the statement of a position to which he unflinchingly adhered from the time of his ordination to the end of his life and which he did not shrink from developing to what most people would consider extreme lengths. Christianity, he held, as a religious and moral revelation, was fully set forth in the New Testament Scriptures, and only there; it was the same in essence for all times and all countries. But the Church was not on the same footing. It was an institution of varying character intended to enable man to give practical expression to the truths of the gospel, and unfortunately it was an institution which in the course of its history had been grievously corrupted. Its

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 188. His earlier and less developed views on the relation of Dissent to the Establishment are set forth in the seventh sermon of the first volume issued while he was still at Laleham. In this sermon he stresses the unity which already exists and says comparatively little about comprehension in a national system.

purpose, from which it had been more or less continuously deflected, ought to be that of putting an end to moral evil. Hence he believed with all his heart that one of the most urgent needs of the age was the restoration of a real Church discipline, which was only possible in a properly governed Christian State. It is curious to note how near he comes in his advocacy of this principle to what is authoritatively maintained by the Church of Rome though with the vital difference that in the case of the latter "the secular arm" is unmistakably subordinated to the hierarchy. To Arnold the bare idea of allowing the clergy to rule was anathema, nor did he hesitate to affirm that the clerical office was no more sacred than that of other ministers of the Christian State. He would not indeed reduce the clergy to the rank of mere civil servants, though this would be the practical outcome of his theory; rather he would insist that all ministers of the State are ministers of Christ.

This he makes quite plain in a letter to Bunsen in November 1838:

> In one main point you agree with the Archbishop of Dublin, who is a man so unlike you, and yet so able, that your agreement on any point is of very great weight. You interpret, I think, as he does,

our Lord's words, that His Kingdom was not of this world, and you hold that the Church may not wield the temporal sword. This is undoubtedly the turning point of the whole question; and if you are right in these positions, it follows undoubtedly that the Church never can be a sovereign society, and therefore can never be identical with a Christian State.

Now I want to know what principles and objects a Christian State can have, if it be really Christian, more or less than those of the Church. In whatever degree it differs from the Church, it becomes, I think, in that exact proportion unchristian. In short, it seems to me that the State must be "the world", if it be not "the Church": but for a society of Christians to be "the world" seems monstrous. Nor can I understand, if this be so, how any Christian can take a part, otherwise than as passively obeying, in the concerns of Government.[1]

No one had ever before expounded Hooker's theory with such merciless consistency, though it was the theory vaguely believed in then as now by a very large body, if not the majority, of the clergy of the Church of England. Arnold deplored the prevailing tendency to take low views of the function of the State as being merely that of "the conservation of body and goods". On the contrary he urged that "the State, being the only power sovereign over human life, has for its legitimate object the happiness of its people—their highest happiness, not physical

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 142.

only, but intellectual and moral; in short, the highest happiness of which it has a conception". Holding these views so strongly as he did it is easy to see why he so feared and detested the elevation of the clergy into a different caste endued with quasi-supernatural powers. He would admit no such distinction between clergy and laity, or indeed any distinction except that prescribed by convenience in the reverent observance of Church Order. Priestcraft—a word often on his lips—he abominated as one of the greatest evils in history and totally foreign to the mind of Christ. In this conviction he approximated closely to that explicitly maintained by English Free Churchmen at the present day, though they would be as far as possible from sharing his views on the identity of the Church with organised political society. For Arnold it was not enough that Church and State should work in close co-operation; they were not to be regarded as two but as one. The State could not achieve its main object, that of securing the highest human welfare apart from the inspiration and moral guidance supplied by the Church; nor could the Church satisfactorily attain its high end of the subjugation of evil and the vindication of good without availing itself of the sovereign

authority and power of the State. The national Commonwealth was to him the fitting sphere for the realisation of Christian ideals, individual and social. A Christianised State in the truest sense of the term would be in itself a Church, the very kind of society contemplated in the teaching of our Lord about the Kingdom of God; and its legislature, or rather its executive government directly responsible to a legislature properly representative of the nation's citizenhood, would be the supreme authority of the Church in fact as well as in name. Church-State and State-Church would be equivalent conceptions.

Arnold knew well that the reality of things in his own day was far different from what he wanted to see. He deeply felt that the Gospel of Christ had not fulfilled its aims and could not do so while organised human society continued to be administered on other principles than those specifically expressed in the teaching of our Lord and His apostles as recorded in the Scriptures. He longed to see political fellowship and Christian fellowship assimilated, the lower to the higher; that crimes against the law should be recognised as sins, and the punishment accorded to them inflicted as part of the Church's exercise

of the power of the keys. Until this end had been attained, he earnestly believed, the social implications of the Gospel could not become fully manifest; but once it was, if indeed such a consummation could be hoped for, then the kingdoms of this world would have become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ.

He did not expect the impossible, and ardent as he was in the pursuit of his ideals he was equally prepared to make haste slowly and take one step at a time. That he could not get all he wanted was no reason for rejecting or failing to strive after the acquisition of any gain that made in the direction of the ultimate goal. He considered it to be of the utmost importance to secure a general acceptance of the standpoint indicated above, and it was because he felt he was failing in this that his outlook at various times became somewhat sombre and he allowed himself to use almost the language of despair anent prevailing conditions, as, for example, in his frequent use of the expression that the bitterest of all griefs was that of being able to see clearly and able to do nothing. Writing in October 1839, partly of the social disturbances that were likely to ensue from a bad harvest, and partly about the confusion

of ecclesiastical affairs, he reveals himself in an unusual mood of depression.

> Those men at Oxford look upon me as a heretic, —and though I hope and believe that I could feel almost entire sympathy with them, if we were together in mere suffering, or death, yet in life and in action I necessarily shrink from them when I see them labouring so incessantly, though I doubt not so ignorantly, to enthrone the very Mystery of falsehood and iniquity in that neglected and dishonoured Temple, the Church of God. And then those who are called Liberals! And the Zurich Government putting Strauss forward as an instructor of Christians! It is altogether so sad, that if I were to allow myself to dwell much upon it, I think it would utterly paralyse me. I could sit still and pine and die.[1]

The allusion to Strauss in this outburst is illustrative of his attitude of mind towards criticism of the Gospel sources, an attitude which can be better explained in a later section of our narrative. Our main interest at this point is to elucidate what Arnold's Erastianism really meant. As Canon Storr rightly says, Arnold's liberalism, religious and political—of which his Erastianism, one may remark, was the chief corner-stone—was that of a man whose whole soul was possessed by a vision of Christian unity.[2] A great theo-

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 172.

[2] *Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, vi. p. 106.

logian he was not ; he was hardly a theologian at all ; but his Christian experience was very rich and real. With him everything centred upon his faith in Christ. His loyalty to Christ was the determining factor in all he said and did ; it was uncompromisingly personal, and as such took precedence of all institutionalism whether national, ecclesiastical, or academic. Unless this fact is clearly grasped we do not possess the key to Arnold's mentality. All Christians, he maintained, were in virtue of their individual allegiance to Christ already morally one, and only needed to make their essential unity explicit—hence his insistence on the principle of comprehension without compromise. He held that to aim at uniformity of dogmatic belief was not only futile but beside the mark; granted the prior allegiance to Christ it was not necessary, and if persisted in could only become a factor of strife and division.

It may at first sight seem unaccountable that with such a wide outlook he should be willing to impose tests of any kind for membership of the National Church, but so it was and the reason is easy to understand once his primary postulates are granted. He would fain have made willingness to worship Christ the initial condition both of the grant

of the privileges of citizenship in the English Commonwealth and of admission to the Anglican Communion. He would not ask for definitions; for doctrinal definitions he had a strong distaste. Christians, he said, became more Christian in proportion as they were less theological; the revelation of God in Christ should ever be sufficient, not merely as a statement of belief, but still more as a guiding principle in conduct. It was from this standpoint that he endeavoured to make what on the surface appears an over-meticulous distinction between various shades of unorthodoxy. Some Unitarians, for instance, he would regard as qualified by their recognition of the lordship of Christ to become members of the Church and eligible for all public offices; others he would quite definitely exclude along with Jews and infidels. To his mind there was nothing arbitrary in making this distinction; it naturally followed from his major premise. Quakers of course would come within the fold as fulfilling the only condition of membership of Church or State on which he ever cared to lay any stress.

I have always thought that the Quakers [he writes] stand nobly distinguished from the multitude of fanatics, by seizing the true point of Christian advancement,—the development of the principles

of the Gospel in the moral improvement of mankind.[1]

Jews on the other hand, though monotheists and adherents of a high standard of morality, were disqualified because of their rejection of Christ as the supreme expression of the nature and will of God. The world, he insists, is made up of Christians and non-Christians; and it is Christians, and Christians only, that should be considered worthy of enjoying the benefits of fellowship with the components of a Christian State. Thus in 1836 he enlarges on the "monstrousness" of a Jew being elected a governor of Christ's Hospital. In the same year he declares:

> I want to petition against the Jew Bill, but I believe I must petition alone . . . I want to take my stand on my favourite principle, that the world is made up of Christians and non-Christians; with all the former we should be one, with none of the latter. I would thank the Parliament for having done away with distinctions between Christian and Christian; I would pray that distinctions be kept up between Christians and non-Christians. Then I think that the Jews have no claim whatever of political right. . . . The Jews are strangers in England, and have no more claim to legislate for us than a lodger has to share with the landlord in the management of his house. If we had brought them here by violence, and then kept them in an inferior

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 18.

condition, they would have just cause to complain; though even then, I think, we might lawfully deal with them on the Liberia system, and remove them to a land where they might live by themselves independent; for England is the land of Englishmen, not of Jews.[1]

The accusation of inconsistency cannot fairly be brought against Dr. Arnold on this point; impracticable as it may seem, his solution of a difficulty which has become intensified since his day is the inevitable outcome of his special brand of Erastian liberalism, and he leaves us in no doubt as to what it is; he at least knows his own mind. Apparently he would have approved of Zionism had Zionism been a feasible policy a hundred years ago. The passage just quoted receives forcible confirmation in a letter to Whately a little later, wherein he protests that the Irish being a Catholic people have either a right to perfect independence or to a perfectly equal union with ourselves. "If our conscience objects to the latter, it is bound to concede the former." That is to say, Ireland and England are either one country or they are not. If they are, then they ought to be sharers in one national establishment of religion; if not, then each should have

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 32.

its own Church according to its own mind. It is the latter alternative that he clearly prefers; were he living now he would have been a strong advocate of the setting up of the Irish Free State and perhaps an equally strong opponent of the separation of Ulster under a different political system from the rest of the country. The rigid logical application of his own principles would be bound to carry him to this extreme. He follows up the opinion on the Irish question by saying to the Archbishop:

> But for the Jews I see no plea of justice whatever; they are voluntary strangers here, and have no claim to become citizens, but by conforming to our moral law, which is the Gospel. Had we brought them here as captives, I should think that we ought to take them back again, and I should think myself bound to subscribe for that purpose. I would give the Jews the honorary citizenship which was so often given by the Romans,—*i.e.*, the private rights of citizens, jus commercii et jus connubii,—but not the public rights, jus suffragii and jus honorum. But then, according to our barbarian feudal notions, the jus commercii involves the jus suffragii; because land, forsooth, is to be represented in Parliament, just as it used to confer jurisdiction. Then, again, I cannot but think that you over-estimate the difference between Christian and Christian. Every member of Christ's Catholic Church is one with whom I may lawfully join in legislation, and whose ministry I may lawfully use, as a judge or a magistrate; but a Jew or heathen I cannot apply to

voluntarily, but only obey him passively if he has the rule over me.[1]

His attitude with regard to Unitarians is somewhat different but equally comprehensible if the legitimacy of the test above described be admitted.

An Unitarian, as such, is a Christian ; that is, if a man follows Christ's law and believes His words according to his conscientious sense of their meaning, he is a Christian; and, though I may think he understands Christ's words amiss, yet that is a question of interpretation, and no more ; the purpose of his heart and mind is to obey and be guided by Christ, and therefore he is a Christian. But I believe,—if I err as to the matter of fact I shall greatly rejoice,—that Unitarianism happens to contain many persons who are only Unitarians negatively, as not being Trinitarians ; and I question whether these follow Christ with enough of sincerity and obedience to entitle them to be called Christians.[2]

These opinions naturally brought him into sharp collision with men of all parties, including even moderate upholders of a State establishment of religion. They were widely misunderstood because the principle on which they were based was not fully realised ; indeed, it was contrary to the national temper, which then as now had less regard for theory than for practicability, and it must be admitted that Arnold's scheme would not be

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 35. [2] *Ibid.* p. 79.

likely to work anywhere; the prevailing tendencies of our time are even more against its acceptance than those of his own. What we have come to see with a clearness impossible to him or his contemporaries is that the nation and the Church are far from being identical even religiously. About half the professing Christians of the nation are Nonconformists, and unfortunately the number of citizens who make no religious profession whatever is large. The Enabling Act is a frank recognition of these facts and for that very reason would have scandalised him. His remedy for the divisions of religious belief which he saw to exist was to widen the basis of membership of the national Church; secularists as such would have been disqualified from exercising the rights of citizenship. But he saw to his sorrow that this was not feasible though he long clung to the hope, or rather the delusion, that the great majority of Englishmen were Christians in a sense of the term sufficiently satisfactory to bring them within the four corners of the establishment as he conceived it. This is illustrated in his criticism of Whately's views which leaned towards a delimitation of the respective spheres of Church and State. The latter's *Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian*, first

published anonymously in 1826, argued for a liberal conception of the Church but its entire spiritual independence of the State, which was the issue which later brought the Free Church of Scotland into being. When ten years afterwards, as Archbishop of Dublin, Whately took the ground that the Protestant establishment in Ireland was an anomaly, Arnold wrote to him agreeing and dissenting at the same time, and incidentally giving a succinct statement of the ruthless logic of his own Erastianism.

Undoubtedly, I think that up to 1795 or 6, whenever the elective franchise was granted to the Catholics, the Protestants were de facto the only citizens of Ireland; and that the Catholic claims could not then be urged on the same ground that they are now. Till that time one must have appealed to a higher law, and asked by what right the Protestants had become the only citizens of Ireland; it was then a question of the Jus Gentium, now it is merely one of Jus Civile. I never have justified the practice of one race in wresting another's country from it; I only say that every people in that country which is rightfully theirs, may establish their own institutions and their own *ideas*; and that no stranger has any title whatever to become a member of that nation, unless he adopts their institutions and ideas. It is not what a government may impose upon its subjects, but what a people may agree upon for themselves; and, though England does not belong to the king, yet it belongs to the English; and the English may most justly say

that they will admit no stranger to be one of their society.[1]

Here, stark and uncompromising, we have the rationale of Arnold's ecclesiastical position. It is almost that of Mr. St. Loe Strachey in our own day but of few others. The tax-payer and the communicant are one and the same, and if it be objected that this in practice means the secularisation of the Church, Arnold's answer would have been that a man is a citizen because a Christian and not *vice versa*.

S. T. Coleridge is often spoken of as having been his master and chief inspirer in the maintenance of this view and of his liberalism generally, but this is only partially true. Coleridge was not ecclesiastically minded, nor was he even a systematic thinker; but he was a pioneer of a spiritual kind of liberal thought, both philosophic and religious, which differentiated liberals of Arnold's quality from adherents of a narrow institutionalism on the one hand or of an equally narrow Evangelicalism on the other. But Arnold's thorough-going Erastianism was his own and derived from no other source unless it be Hooker. Hooker was no doubt his primary instructor, as he has been the

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 38.

instructor of successive generations of Englishmen who have stood stoutly by the Church as by law established, but in Arnold's case the pupil outwent the teacher—not perhaps in principle but undoubtedly in the manner of its application to the needs of the generation to which he belonged. Coleridge's treatise *On the Constitution of Church and State* he considered to be historically faulty. It could not have supplied him with the material of his most characteristic and firmly held convictions. Coleridge did more for Newman than for Arnold in his insistence upon the Catholicity and Apostolicity of the Church and thus emphasising its supernatural character. In distinguishing as he did between the universal and the national Church he fell into some confusion which rendered his thesis unpalatable both to Arnold and the Tractarians.

CHAPTER VII

CONTROVERSIES AND ESTRANGEMENTS

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that Arnold's active intervention in ecclesiastical and political affairs was due to the same causes as those which brought the Oxford movement into being, though his methods of finding a remedy for the evils of the time were so antithetic to the means employed by the Oriel group. Like Keble and Keble's coadjutors he was alarmed by the tendencies he saw at work in England a century ago both in regard to religion and to social discontent. Thus writing to the Rev. G. Cornish in July 1825 he says:

> I have long had a suspicion that Cobbett's complaints of the degradation and sufferings of the poor in England contained much truth, though uttered by him in the worst possible spirit. It is certain that the peasantry here (Florence) are much more generally proprietors of their own land than with us; and I should believe them to be much more independent and in easier circumstances. [His observation was at fault in this respect.] This is, I

believe, the ground reason why so many of the attempts at revolution have failed in these countries. A revolution would benefit the lawyers, the savans, the merchants, bankers, and shopkeepers, but I do not see what the labouring classes would gain by it. For them the work has been done already, in the destruction of the feudal tyranny of the nobility and great men; and, in my opinion, this blessing is enough to compensate the evils of the French Revolution; for the good endures while the effects of the massacres and devastations are fast passing away.[1]

A year later he is writing earnestly to another correspondent about the urgent need for Church Reform.

But the difficulty will always be practically, who is to reform it? For the clergy have a horror of the House of Commons, and Parliament and the country will never trust the matter to the clergy. If we had our General Assembly, there might be some chance, but as it is, I know no more hopeless prospect, and every year I live, this is to me more painful. If half the energy and resources which have been turned to Bible Societies and missions had steadily been applied to the reform of our own institutions, and the enforcing the principles of the Gospel among ourselves, I cannot but think that we should have been fulfilling a higher duty, and with the blessing of God might have produced more satisfactory fruit.[2]

It was in 1833, almost simultaneously with Keble's famous assize sermon and the inception of the Oxford movement, that Arnold

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 75. [2] *Ibid.* p. 78.

first came into the open with his pamphlet on *Principles of Church Reform*. He was surprised at the amount of hostility with which it was received, and tried to make his recommendations more explicit and less bizarre in the *Postscript* which he issued shortly afterwards. Seven years later he was himself prepared to acknowledge that the antipathy provoked by the pamphlet was not surprising, considering the circumstances and the unfamiliarity of the extremer proposals put forward therein. His defence was that he believed the Church establishment to be in danger, which is precisely why Keble preached on National Apostasy and started the Tractarian ball rolling. That there were grounds for the fears felt by both men, as by many others among the more devout and sober-minded elements of the nation, has already been shown, but the fears were exaggerated. Looking back upon this period Arnold was able to perceive that he mistook the strength of the Jacobin forces which in the twenties had been threatening both religion and social order, and he asked to be judged by the situation as it appeared at the time he wrote and not by subsequent developments. Believing as he did in 1833, and was not singular in believing, that the prevailing

secularity of temper which was influencing statesmanship might soon mean the introduction to Parliament of a measure for the disestablishment of the Church, he urged in his pamphlet that on the contrary the establishment should be made more truly national and comprehensive by the admission of Dissenters. The principle he advocated with this end in view, and ever afterwards adhered to, was that of comprehension without compromise. The Lambeth proposals of 1920, and the various conferences on reunion which have followed thereupon, have taken us a long way in Arnold's direction, but the mental atmosphere in which he made his suggestions was so different from that of to-day that it was scarcely to be expected he should obtain a patient hearing. The pamphlet passed through several editions in a few months and created some excitement accompanied by angry controversy. Churchmen and Dissenters alike objected to its terms—the former because of its Latitudinarian policy, far though it was from being Latitudinarian in spirit; the latter because they resented Arnold's strictures upon their intellectual narrowness and sectarian temper. Political liberals of the Bentham and Mill school, including prominent members of the Govern-

ment of the day, disliked the author's insistence upon the indispensableness of a close union between Church and State. Reactionaries hated his demand for administrative efficiency and the removal of the more glaring abuses of the ecclesiastical system as then existing. Many writers were appealing for Church reform, but none took precisely Arnold's attitude to the question; few went to the root of the matter or did more than expound the programmes of the several parties which were striving against each other for the mastery. Arnold stood alone, as he always did. He never at any time became the leader of a party.

The further suggestions put forward in the pamphlet on Principles of Church Reform met with a mixed reception. Some of the most important of them have since been carried into effect, such as the increase in the number of dioceses and the revival of the office of suffragan (in the sense of assistant) bishop without jurisdiction. So far from being willing to separate the temporal from the spiritual power, Arnold strongly advocated that the clergy should be eligible to sit in both houses of Parliament. He anticipated a proposal of which we are hearing much at the present time, namely the institution or

resuscitation of a real diaconate, a clerical order consisting of persons who did not necessarily aspire to the priesthood and who might be permitted, where thought desirable, to spend the major portion of their time in secular avocations as a means of livelihood. He considered, and rightly, that these special ministers, drawn from the ranks of the laity and continuing to share normally the life of the laity, would be able to render valuable assistance to overworked parish priests and contribute to keeping the clerical order as a whole in living touch with the lay mind. This idea may yet be put into general practice and prove of great value in the partial solution of the pressing problem of the shortage and poverty of the clergy. A cognate suggestion that the parish churches should be regularly used throughout the week and not for Sunday services only has become the rule in all dioceses, especially in the great urban areas; and its corollary that a greater elasticity and variety should be legalised in the forms of worship seems in a fair way towards realisation also. He expressed himself as definitely opposed to any theory of the constitution of the Church which would regard its polity as divinely and unalterably fixed and unchangeable; he

refused to believe that any form of Church organisation was sacrosanct and for all time; and although he attached high importance to the clerical calling, and would say nothing to derogate from the reverence in which it should be held, he desired to minimise the distinction between clergy and laity as far as possible. As, in accordance with his fundamental principle, he looked upon public officials as Christian ministers, he did not shrink from recommending that properly authorised persons other than the clergy should, when clergy were not available, be permitted to conduct public worship and administer the sacraments. He would allow to Nonconformists their own modes of worship at stated times in the parish churches provided they were willing to comply with the initial condition of accepting the episcopal system and become reunited with the national Church.

That these proposals should have created controversy is not to be wondered at, and the *Postscript* only served to fan the flame, for he therein defends and elaborates his firmly held opinion that the minimum of doctrine required for membership of the national Church should be much reduced; in effect he would ask no more than the bare confession of belief

in God, and of the worship of Christ as the revealer of God, and a not too rigid acceptance of the Scriptures as the inspired record of all truth necessary to salvation. He would have nothing to say to any claim to an apostolic commission on the part of the clergy which did not pertain *pari passu* to the laity. Episcopal ordination, he contended, conferred a legal qualification for the ministry, not a spiritual one; no special grace could be transmitted by a mechanical act. It is quite evident that, startling as these ideas seemed to his contemporaries, Arnold in most of them remarkably anticipated what liberal churchmen stand for at the present time. His weakness, like theirs, principally resided in the fact that he did not allow enough for the mysterious deeps of human nature in his system. It was too rational, too prosaic, too obviously a matter of arrangement and plan to be a complete expression of what the religious nature of man demands. His ideal was that the Christian religion should cover the whole of a man's life and not a part only, but he did not see, and in the then existing state of psychological knowledge could not be expected to see, that what is most potent and most enduring in religious experience is precisely that which can be least easily explained.

He knew that this first attempt of his to contribute something of practical worth to the settlement of the disputes which were raging around the apparently insecure fabric of the Church in 1833 had turned out a failure. No party was prepared to accept his scheme in its entirety; comparatively few were willing to discuss it seriously at all. He had already become known to a portion of the reading public through the expression of his views on Catholic emancipation, and to a rather smaller circle by his essay on the Interpretation of Scripture. Now he became suddenly notorious and immensely unpopular. For several years following he was an object of distrust and detestation to men of all parties, and his name was everywhere greeted with opprobrium by persons who were mostly ill-informed concerning both his character and opinions. This prejudice reacted on his more immediate work and created difficulties which were not readily surmounted. The school suffered to some extent; he was continually assailed with vituperation in some newspapers, and was even denounced directly and indirectly from the pulpit of his own university; he lost friends, and hardly any of those who stood by him were able to agree with what he had

written or to do other than condemn the unwisdom of publishing it. That he felt his ostracism deeply is indicated by some of the brief allusions he makes to it in his private correspondence ; otherwise his attitude was one of silent dignity and unresentful serenity of spirit. To public attacks he disdained to reply except when they were aimed at the school, but he did not modify his position or withdraw what he had felt it his duty to put forth. Neither did he diminish his interest in it or cease to reflect upon the principles he had sought to expound. On the contrary, from now onward he developed and clarified what he had advanced and gave it greater depth and consistency both in his own mind and in his future treatment of various aspects of it as they came before him in successive connections. His *Fragment on Church and State*, in which his best and fullest exposition of his convictions on the subject is made, did not appear till 1845, after his death.[1] Had he lived it would have been the foundation of the treatise he contemplated writing on Christian Politics. His sermons during the period of his greatest unpopularity contain little that can be construed into a defence of

[1] This is much more than a fragment : it is a well-written and considered pronouncement on the subject and occupies the greater part of a fair-sized volume in his collected works.

himself or his opinions. The two volumes which had already appeared suddenly ceased to circulate though they had been warmly welcomed heretofore; and the third, which was issued soon after the trouble began, had for long no better fate, yet it is in the preface and appendix to this particular volume that he deals most lucidly with his conception of the nature of the Church as contrasted with that of the Tractarians who were beginning to make themselves heard.

But on the whole he desisted for several years from active participation in matters of controversy and kept closely to his educational duties and his *History of Rome*, finding in hard work a solace for the trouble that had descended upon him. In 1832 he had purchased a modest and beautiful home—Fox How—in Westmorland, as a place of rest and retreat after the strain of successive Rugby terms, and as time went on this abode became more and more dear to him and his family. It was a great comfort to him amid the perplexities and misunderstandings which wounded him so deeply after the appearance of his pamphlet on Church Reform. His health suffered in some degree, though not permanently, from the estrangements and misrepresentations which were his daily lot

while the storm lasted at its full height, but never was the efficiency of his work as a teacher and administrator more marked. Perhaps because of the very obloquy which attended his activities his pupils and fellow-workers became intensely loyal to him and responded to the stimulus of his forceful personality. His discourses in the school chapel became more tender and intimate in their tone, and his choice of subjects, though never betraying the least animosity towards any of his own critics, reveals that his mind was occupied by thoughts immediately connected with his specific and bitter experience of the evils of a sectarian and partisan spirit.[1]

His letters to some of his closest friends during these trying years contain much that is illuminating in regard to his feelings though they add little to our knowledge of his maturing convictions. Thus, writing to the Rev. G. Cornish, he says:

> I have had a good deal of worry from (some person or persons unnamed) . . . the party spirit of the neighbourhood, who in the first place have no notion of what my opinions are, and in the next place cannot believe that I do not teach the boys Junius and the *Edinburgh Review*, at the least, if not Cobbett and the *Examiner*. But this is an evil which

[1] Note the touching sermon on "Christian Friendship" (No. 27 in the collection of 1834).

flesh is heir to, if flesh, at least, will write as I have done. I am sorry that you do not like the Pamphlet, for I am myself daily more and more convinced of its truth. I will not answer for its practicability; when the patient is at his last gasp, the dose may come too late, but still it is his only chance; he may die of the doctor; he must die of the disease.[1]

To Dr. Hawkins he expresses himself more sharply in his defence:

I do protest most strongly against your charge of writing "with haste and without consideration"; of writing "on subjects which I have not studied and do not understand", and "which are not within my proper province". You cannot possibly know that I wrote in haste, or that I have not studied the question; and I think, however much I might differ from any opinion of yours, I should scarcely venture to say that you had written on what you did not understand. . . . If any respectable man of my own age chooses to attack my principles, I am perfectly ready to meet him, and he shall see at any rate whether I have studied the question or no. I wish that I knew as much about Thucydides, which you think that I do understand.[2]

But ere long the growing activities of the Tractarians and their success in drawing to their side many of the most generous and ardent spirits among the youth of Oxford began to fill him with alarm. Like most men of his generation he under-estimated the strength of the movement at first, and it does

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 363 [2] *Ibid.* p. 345.

not appear that he ever fully understood its real spirit. The ruling motive of the leaders of the movement was a purely spiritual one, the longing for personal sanctity; and it was because they saw or thought they saw that the principal time-honoured means towards this end were being threatened by the secularising tendencies of the age that they united to reaffirm the supernatural character of the Church, the apostolic succession of the clergy, and the reality of sacramental grace. That their interpretation of these ideas was narrow and historically defective may be granted, but it was sincere and earnest, and it was the earnestness and sincerity that gained a hearing for them. The original Tractarians cared less for externals than their successors, but more for personal religion; their supreme interest was the salvation of souls to which every other object was subordinated. Arnold never perceived this. To him the thought of putting any ordinance or institution in a mediatorial capacity between the soul and God was intolerable and to be denounced as a dangerous error. He was constitutionally unable to share in the view that the Church as such had any special claim to reverence or that its record justified what Newman and his friends believed and taught concerning its function

in the world. The veneration which he felt for the authority of Scripture was greater than his respect for and confidence in organised Christianity as judged by its history. Here he had the advantage of the Tractarians in that his favourite study had given him a more accurate acquaintance with the facts than they possessed. He never cared much either for art or for biographical detail; had he been able to do so his attitude to the Oxford men might have been more sympathetic. He ever acted from fixed principles with a thoroughness which some of his admirers occasionally found disconcerting, and it is easy to see therefore how inevitably he would come into conflict with the propaganda of the Tractarians.

His temperament forbade moderation when he was deeply moved, as he could not fail to be by a cult which challenged his most cherished convictions; hence his style in controversy was apt to be vehement. "I must deliver my soul," he would say when any great public issue had to be faced, and in the case of the Tractarians he did so with a force and pungency they found it hard to forgive. He and they, indeed, were precluded by their respective standpoints from sympathising with each other's aims. As far back as the

spring of 1829 he had written to Julius Hare (himself no sympathiser with the new school when it developed): "You appear to me to look upon the past with feelings of reverence in which I cannot participate".[1] A hitherto unpublished letter to his old friend John Keble, doubtless suppressed by Stanley from motives of delicacy which are not now operative, shows how complete the breach speedily became, though Arnold appears to be unaware that his own severity of judgement might have been the initial cause of estrangement. It is undated, but the occasion is obvious; it is that of a visit paid to Hursley by Arnold's sons, to one of whom, Matthew, Keble was godfather.

I hear from my Boys that you have had the kindness to ask them over to Hursley, and they expressed themselves very much delighted with their visit. Let me thank you sincerely for this mark of your interest about them.

Such a kindness shewn to my children by an old friend ought to be nothing but gratifying and delightful.

It would indeed be one of the greatest earthly

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 247. Cf. the striking statement in the introduction to the volume of his sermons published in 1834: "These two evils then of the Roman world (in the early Christian centuries), social helplessness and intellectual frivolousness, infected the Christian Church from its earliest period, and have been the principal causes of its abandonment by the Church of its own government, and leaving it in the hands of the clergy."

pleasures I could have, if I dared to regard it as a symptom of any disposition on your part to return to those old relations with my children's Father which were so long one of my greatest happinesses, which I cannot yet bear to resign without an effort, but what no unkindness on my part, as you must well know, has ever tended to interrupt. I am sure—forgive me for saying so to one whom on many points I feel so far above me—I am sure that you are not acting right in breaking off all intercourse with an old friend ;—in separating yourself from a member of your Church on your own individual Authority: —for considering as a fit ground for such separation what no authority of the Church has so much as questioned, much less condemned. I need not ask you to look at Chillingworth's letter to Mr. Lewgan when he had condemned him as a Heretic. Chillingworth asks if Lewgan could charge him with having denied " Christ's coming in the Flesh ", as he thought proper not be bid him God speed. Yet Chillingworth had at any rate separated himself from Lewgan's outward Communion by leaving the Church of Rome. You renounce men who hold to the same Communion with you, and believe that they most entirely sympathise with it : and whom no Authority in that Communion has questioned on any single point either of their opinions or their life. I cannot see what it is to make divisions in Christ's Church if this be not doing so : or what is a harsh and presumptuous judgement, but thus to claim as it were the Church's power of Excommunication, and pronounce for yourself what opinions ought not to be tolerated as if you were set to judge and to govern. With a great avowed Horror of the exercise of private Judgement, you are indulging it to an extent far greater than those whom you condemn. I do not think myself justified on my private judgement

of the erroneousness or mischievousness of any opinions in anticipating the judgement of the Church and creating a Schism on my own Authority. Even in points of no disputed kind—in plain matters of evil living, and where the Discipline of the Church is avowedly in abeyance, it is your duty, I think, not to break through the ordinary humanities of society with the offender, because the evil of an individual's condemning even sin on his own Authority is far greater than any good which he can hope to produce by his zeal.

I have been putting the case just as if my opinions were certainly wrong, and yours right, and merely urging that however right you may be, you are not justified in creating a schism, and allowing yourself to break in upon what is most assuredly a sacred thing, the kindliness of personal friendship. Look into every age of the Church, and tell me where you can find an instance of one Christian breaking off intercourse with his friend for such opinions as mine, even allowing them to be erroneous. I do not want to take any higher ground, yet you must be well aware that a large majority of the Church of England would condemn your views quite as much as mine :—you know also that I think and feel as deeply as you can do, and that if I have not and do not allow myself to let our differences interfere with my personal regard for you it is not of indifference to Truth, or any light estimate of the evil of your doctrine, but because I will endeavour by God's grace not to be provoked to imitate your spirit of condemnation—because I love you more, independently of all personal feelings, for that one foundation on which our hope is alike built, than I can quarrel with you for all the hay and stubble which I believe you to be assiduously building on it. I have been forced to say this in my own defence.

You and your friends constantly assume that you are the only persons who love Christ, and that those who differ from you are merely following their own devices, and trying to persuade themselves that these are only not irreconcilable with Christ's will. God forbid that I should say or think that I and my friends alone love Christ, but this I will say confidently, that my opinions have been formed from the Scriptures on no light or careless study of them, and that I sincerely believe not that Christ tolerates, but that He commands me to think of His Church and Ministers as I do, and to protest earnestly against these views which I believe you are advocating. But I am sure also that He commands me to love all that love Him, let their errors of opinion be what they may. I have written thus much, almost hopelessly: yet I trust you will see at any rate how I yearn after the old kindness which subsisted between us, and that if it is to perish it is by no fault of mine. But if you conceive yourself bound to remain alienated, then I appeal to your own feelings, whether I can feel any pleasure in your kindness to my Boys, and whether I must not of necessity desire them to shun a man whose example would teach them to condemn their Father.—I remain your old friend T. A.

This tender and touching, but almost startlingly uncompromising, appeal to the recipient's fair-mindedness and goodness of heart may probably have borne fruit, for there is reason to believe that it was written not long before Arnold's death. If so, the indications are that it prepared the way for the reconciliation which was to have taken effect

by Keble's coming to Fox How once more as a beloved and honoured guest. That this happy event did not take place is of small concern now. That it was intended is the principal thing for readers to dwell upon who revere the memories of both men.

Arnold flung himself with vigour into the controversies that soon began to rage around the teaching of the *Tracts for the Times*. His most characteristic epithet for their authors was the "Judaizers". Occasionally in his letters he speaks of the "Newmanites". The most offensive title prefixed to any outpouring of his indignation against them, "The Oxford Malignants," was apparently not of his own choosing but that of the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, in which his famous article on the Hampden case appeared in April 1836. This article was certainly too strong even in the opinion of Arnold's best friends and provoked much animosity against him. It was written in an angry and rather contemptuous tone because of the unfairness of the attack which had been made upon his friend Dr. Hampden by the Tractarians, an attack led by Newman himself with all the dialectical subtlety and controversial skill of which he was a master. The occasion was the appointment of Hampden as Regius

Professor of Divinity at Oxford,[1] and the ground of accusation was the opinions expressed in his Bampton Lectures delivered four years earlier, wherein an appeal was made from tradition to Scripture as the superior source of authority. No protest had been heard against this view at the time it was enunciated; it was only when the scholar responsible for it received important preferment that the storm was aroused, nor perhaps would there have been any storm even then but for the fact that in the interval the Oxford movement had come into being and its chief tenets become articulate and made an impression in the academic world. Newman was not too scrupulous in his method of assailing what he disliked in Hampden's utterances. He tore several passages from their context and presented them in an exaggerated form; upon others he put his own construction; and the indictment in general was marked by an animus discreditable to its promoters. The person who behaved best in the period of thrust and counter-thrust which followed was the special object of Tractarian and conservative hos-

[1] Keble was the opposition candidate, and after the appointment was made took an active part in the protest against it (Lock's *Life of Keble*, p. 87 ff.).

tility: Dr. Hampden showed a far better spirit than his opponents. Storr considers that he has received less than justice from later writers both as a thinker and a prophet of coming tendencies.[1] He was a man of liberal mind as well as sound learning. He stood for the abolition of university tests, for theological development, and for the simplification as far as possible of doctrinal statements. Naturally his affinities were more with Arnold and the Noetics than with advocates of any kind of sacerdotalism, but he was no controversialist and would willingly have retired from the position to which he had been appointed rather than be a cause of strife.

Arnold's indignant championship of his friend may perhaps have done the latter some disservice at the time.[2] Dean Church seems to think so while holding that the protest against a man of Hampden's patent unorthodoxy to the chair of Divinity was justifiable and was not mainly due to Tractarian animosity; its main strength came from the body of moderate theological opinion

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 104.

[2] The most controversial of his sermons, and at the same time the ripest fruit of his mind on the subject of Church doctrine and government, were preached at this period and appear in the volume published with a long and incisive preface in 1844.

which no more then than now was inspired by Catholic sentiment. But Hampden, though a loyal State Churchman, was not the thoroughgoing Erastian that Arnold was, nor is there any sign in his works of the disposition to treat the Church and the clerical office as institutions ranking with and parallel to social organisation in general and as having the same divine sanction and no more.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE TRACTARIANS

THE Hampden controversy was the beginning of a new phase of Arnold's active interest in the ecclesiastical and doctrinal questions of the hour. Hitherto he had not realised the seriousness of the Tractarian revival of the appeal to antiquity, nor indeed its true nature; now he was suddenly compelled to reckon with it, and his naïve surprise thereat is expressed both in his preaching and his private correspondence during the ensuing three or four years. His dread and dislike of what he felt to be its reactionary and superstitious tendencies were balanced by the equal antipathy and distrust which he exhibited towards the secularising policy pursued by the government of the day in regard to education, particularly in relation to the newly founded University of London. It was the Oxford development to which he gave the more overt attention. He had not

hitherto believed that such tenets as were now being propagated so successfully by Newman and his followers were held to any great extent in the Church of England, wherein he was no doubt right. Only a few years earlier, when writing on the question of Roman Catholic emancipation from civil disabilities, he took note of the fact that belief in the Apostolical Succession of the clergy was not characteristic of Anglicanism. His pamphlet on Church Reform, almost contemporaneous, as we have seen, with the beginning of the Oxford movement, also explicitly took for granted the paucity of the numbers of those who attached excessive importance to the episcopate as primitive in the organisation of the Christian Church and essential to its existence. But from 1834 onward he found this very belief entrenched in his own university and spreading thence throughout the whole of England, a fact for which he was totally unprepared and which caused him the greatest alarm and offence; he saw clearly that it went straight in the teeth of all that he had hitherto argued for as reasonable and desirable in regard to the future of the national faith of Englishmen. It was not in his nature to remain passive in the presence of anything which he felt to be morally mis-

chievous, and such was his deliberate judgement of Tractarian principles so far as he had been able to observe their previous operation in Christian history. He insisted, probably with greater warrant than most of the adherents of the new movement, that these principles were not new to him, that he had had abundant opportunity of estimating their effect in other centuries and upon other peoples as well as in the past of our own country, and that consequently he had long made it his chief endeavour to act upon principles of a diametrically opposite character. He was bewildered at being forced to realise, almost without warning, that men of light and leading, with the same academic training as himself, some of them—Keble in particular—being included among his closest and most valued friends, should have been persuaded to lend themselves to the advocacy of a view of the meaning of Christianity so radically false and wrong.

Possessed by this conviction he could not restrain himself from speech, and his utterances lacked nothing of the vigour engendered by moral passion even more than by intellectual divergence from the men whose teaching he controverted. So intense were his feelings on the subject that he found it

difficult to speak with respect of the leaders of the movement themselves, and his words were at times misconstrued as being personal in their application, an inference which he always firmly repudiated. He confessed his inability to deal patiently with persons inclined to what he called Newmanism.

> Not living in Oxford [he says] and seeing only the books of the Newmanites, and considering only their system, any mind that can turn towards them, *i.e.* their books and their system, with anything less than unmixed aversion, appears to be already diseased. . . . (Their doctrines) are the very errors which, in studying moral and religious truth, I have continually had to observe and to eschew ; the very essence of one of the two great divisions of human falsehood, against which the wisdom of God and man has most earnestly combated,—in which man's folly and wickedness has ever found its favourite nourishment.[1]

This is strong language, and he sometimes went farther, for he did not hesitate to denounce what he believed to be the inevitable and natural evil effect on character and conduct of the views he hated. In this he often verged upon uncharitableness, wherein he exhibited the defect of his noble quality of lofty and disinterested honesty of purpose and loyalty to truth. Stanley says of him in another connection :

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 6.

With every wish to be impartial, yet his natural temperament, as he used himself to acknowledge, made it difficult for him to place himself completely in another's point of view; and thus he had a tendency to judge individuals, with whom he had no personal acquaintance, from his conception of the party to which they belonged, and to look at both through the medium of that strong power of association, which influenced materially his judgment, not only of events, but of men, and even of places.[1]

This is an accurate characterisation, but it should ever be remembered that the dominant trait in Arnold's character was that of moral intensity; if we fail to understand this we fail to understand him, and it applies to everything he did in life. Thus at the very beginning of his work at Rugby he writes to Coleridge:

Of my success in introducing a religious principle into education, I must be doubtful; it is my most earnest wish, and I pray God that it may be my constant labour and prayer; but to do this would be to succeed beyond all my hopes; it would be a happiness so great that, I think, the world could yield me nothing comparable to it.[2]

The man who could so testify, and whose whole career is in accordance with the motive here avowed, may readily be pardoned if his

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 194. Mozley, *op. cit.*, criticises Arnold's somewhat aggressive self-confidence in controversy. Cf. p. 59.
[2] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 244.

zeal for righteousness as he conceives it should now and then provoke him to severe condemnation of principles and actions which he believes to be subversive of it ; he will not be content to measure his words or prophesy smooth things.

The five years from 1833 to 1838 were the period of his greatest unpopularity, not principally through his opposition to the daily increasing forces of Tractarianism—an opposition in which the dominant elements in the Church sympathised—but through his political and ecclesiastical liberalism, a brand entirely his own. He was frequently depressed in spirit at this time by the thought of his comparative helplessness in the face of the sinister advance of what he called the two opposite evils of unbelief and superstition. At the very moment when utilitarian scepticism was gathering head in the community as a whole and invading all departments of the national life, the Church was fast becoming the victim of a revival of the ignorance, credulity, and moral obliquity of pre-Reformation days. This is how he viewed the situation, and that his thoughts on the matter were often tinged with bitterness and sadness is evident enough from his private as well as his public expressions. The fourth

volume of his sermons, published at this time, contains his best and finest deliverances on what he conceived to be the gravest perils of the age in both directions, and they are couched in a style at once restrained and dignified. In his more intimate correspondence he lets himself go more freely. With his exceptional energy of character he might have done much to stem the tide of Newmanism had he been at Oxford as he wanted to be after Hampden's preferment, but the opportunity did not come his way until later, and then too near the end of his life for him to be able to accomplish much even if the movement had not by that time become too strong to be countered with success by any single individual. He chafed at his impotence. Writing to Whately in the spring of 1836 he says:

> I want to get out a series of "Church of England Tracts", which, after establishing again the supreme authority of Scripture and reason, against Tradition, Councils, and Fathers, and showing that reason is not rationalism, should then take two lines, the one negative, the other positive; the negative one, showing that the pretended unity, which has always been the idol of Judaizers, is worthless, impracticable,—and the pursuit of it has split Christ's Church into a thousand sects, and will keep it so split for ever: the other positive, showing that the true unity is most precious, practicable, and has in fact never

been lost; that at all times and in all countries, there has been a succession of men, enjoying the blessings and showing forth the fruits of Christ's Spirit; that in their lives, and in what is truly their religion—*i.e.* in their prayers and hymns—there has been a wonderful unity; that all sects have had amongst them the marks of Christ's Catholic Church, in the graces of His Spirit, and the Confession of His name; for which purpose it might be useful to give, side by side, the martyrdoms, missionary labours, etc., of Catholics and Arians, Romanists and Protestants, Churchmen and Dissenters. Here is a grand field, giving room for learning, for eloquence, for acuteness, for judgment, and for a true love of Christ, in those who took part in it,—and capable, I think, of doing much good. And the good is wanted; because it is plain that the Judaizers have infected even those who still profess to disclaim them. . . . I am well satisfied that if you let in but one little finger of Tradition, you will have in the whole monster—horns, and tail, and all. I teach my children the Catechism and Creed, not for any tradition's sake, but because the Church of England has adopted them. Each particular Church is an authority to members of that Church; but, for any general tradition having authority from universality or antiquity, I do not believe that there is any such: and what are called such, are, I think, only corruptions, more or less ancient, and more or less mischievous, of the true Christianity of the Scriptures.[1]

This notable proposal, which came to nothing but might have had important results had Arnold been at Oxford and in a position to carry it out, is a good specimen

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 33.

both of the clearness of his theories and their more obvious limitations. Are the Scriptures enough, taken alone, to supply us with a working knowledge of Christianity and its value for the present age; did inspired guidance cease with the formation of the New Testament canon; is it true that the Church has no higher function than is here ascribed to it? Arnold was never able to see that, despite its many aberrations and imperfections, the Christian Church as such has had a continuous organic existence which is not to be confused with that of secular society, and that, thus viewed, it is the repository of a living and continuous witness under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Difficult though it be to arrive at a satisfactory definition of authority, authority there must be, and it is not merely that of any State establishment of religion considered apart from the rest of Christendom. Such isolation has never been possible in fact and is indefensible in theory.

But Arnold never shrank from pressing his contentions to their extremest consequences — a somewhat un-English trait. Taking as he did a lower view of the nature and function of the Church than the Tractarians stood for, and in which they were nearer to the truth than he, he looked for the

norm and standard of Christian experience in the relation of the individual soul to Christ, and it seemed to him an act of apostasy to put any institution or ordinance between the Christian and his Lord. A letter to Stanley, written at almost the same time as the above-quoted suggestion to Whately, well illustrates his attitude on the point.

> Now with regard to the Newmanites. I do not call them bad men, nor would I deny their many good qualities; . . . I judge of them as I do commonly of mixed characters, where the noble and the base, the good and the bad, are strangely mixed up together. There is an ascending scale from the grossest personal selfishness, such as that of Caesar or Napoleon, to party selfishness, such as that of Sylla, or fanatical selfishness, that is the idolatry of an idea or a principle, such as that of Robespierre and Dominic, and some of the Covenanters. In all these, except perhaps the first, we feel a sympathy more or less, because there is something of personal self-devotion and sincerity; but fanaticism is idolatry, and it has the moral evil of idolatry in it; that is, a fanatic worships something which is the creature of his own devices, and thus even his self-devotion in support of it is only an apparent self-sacrifice, for it is in fact making the parts of his nature or his mind, which he least values, offer sacrifice to that which he most values. The moral fault, as it appears to me, is in the idolatry,—the setting up some idea which is most kindred to our own minds, and then putting it in the place of Christ, who alone cannot be made an idol, and cannot inspire fanaticism, because He combines all

ideas of perfection, and exhibits them in their just harmony and combination. . . . But it is clear to me that Newman and his party are idolaters; they put Christ's Church and Christ's Sacraments, and Christ's ministers in the place of Christ Himself; and these being only imperfect ideas, the unreserved worship of them unavoidably tends to the neglect of other ideas no less important; and thence some passion or other loses its proper and intended check, and the moral evil follows. Thus it is that narrow-mindedness tends to wickedness, because it does not extend its watchfulness to every part of our moral nature, for then it would not be *narrow*-mindedness; and this neglect fosters the growth of evil in the parts that are so neglected. . . . I have been looking through the tracts, which are to me a memorable proof of their idolatry.[1]

The psychology of this excerpt is more accurate than the knowledge displayed of the moral quality of the persons criticised. The writer anticipates Kingsley in his general argument and his inadequate apprehension of the ruling aims and motives of the Tractarians, who were mostly men of exemplary holiness of character and life. In a similar outburst to Hawkins Arnold further says:

I have been reading the Pusey and Newman tracts with no small astonishment; they surpass all

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 40. Cf. the vigorous introduction to the sermons issued in 1844, *e.g.* "I will not say that Mr. Newman's favourite doctrines were the very Antichrist which corrupted Christianity; I will only say that they did not prevent its corruption—that when they were most exalted, Christian truth and Christian goodness were most depressed" (p. xxix.).

my expectations in point of extravagance, and in their complete opposition to the Christianity of the New Testament. But there are some beautiful things in Pusey's Tracts on baptism, much that is holy, and pure, and truly Christian, till, like Don Quixote's good sense in ordinary matters, it all gets upset by some outbreak of his particular superstition.[1]

It is worthy of note here that the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration was a matter of sharp discussion among theologians for some time prior to the appearance of the *Tracts for the Times*, and that there was nothing actually new concerning it in the Tracts themselves. Evangelicals and High Churchmen were most plainly differentiated from each other on this cardinal point; it was what finally decided Newman to part company with his early Evangelical associates, and later on it was the main question at issue in regard to the Gorham Judgement. Arnold never perceived or allowed for the moral significance wherewith, under Pusey's learned and spiritual guidance, the Tractarians invested the doctrine and how closely it was linked to their whole conception of the nature of the Christian life. Post-baptismal sin was in their eyes a most grievous thing; in fact, to be plain, their system of self-discipline and self-scrutiny was

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 43, n. Cf. Arnold's sermon on "The Baptismal Vow", *Sermons on the Christian Life*, vol. ii. p. 164.

far more thorough than that of any other party in the Church at the time. Evangelicalism in particular, as Newman indicates in the *Apologia*, was too apt to be self-deceived in this matter and to substitute pious feelings for personal sanctity. Until Pusey's accession Tractarian teaching was more polemical than erudite. Its publications were protests and appeals ; the later ones until the discontinuance of the series were reasoned treatises on fundamental matters of faith and their derivatives. Brilioth distinguishes three periods in the history of the movement up to the time of Newman's secession to Rome : (1) 1833–35, the early stages when the Newman group was emphasising Apostolical Succession in making its most vigorous appeal for a general recognition of the danger with which the Church was threatened and the need for reaffirming its divine commission ; (2) 1835–39, the most fruitful and productive period, during which its main principles were made explicit and most fully and ably expounded ; (3) 1839–45, the period of disintegration in which the Romanising tendency of the implications of the theories to which some of the more prominent leaders had committed themselves drew to a head and led to division.[1]

[1] *Anglican Revival*, chap. ix. p. 127.

Arnold had all along insisted that there was no logical half-way house for Newman and his followers, that they must either go on or go back. His opposition to them never slackened, and his distrust of their methods increased rather than diminished as time went on. What caused him the most uneasiness was the reactionary character of the movement, which he maintained was both unhistorical in its assumptions and unscriptural in practice. It went back too far and not far enough, back to the undivided Church of the first four General Councils, but not back to Christ and the New Testament.

> Every part of the New Testament [he writes] gives a picture of Christianity or of some one great feature in it, and every part negatively confutes the Priestcraft heresy, because that is to be found nowhere, in so much that no man yet ever fell or could fall into that heresy by studying the Scriptures; they are a bar to it altogether, and it is only when they are undermined by traditions and the rudiments of men that the heresy begins to make its way. And it is making its way fearfully, but it will not take the form that Newman wishes, but its far more natural and consistent form of pure Popery.[1]

This was written nine years before Newman vindicated the prescience of his great opponent by leaving the Church of England.

Another pronouncement of almost the same

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 59.

date is contained in a letter to Hawkins, of which the following is a salient paragraph:

I am very desirous of going fully into my views about the Church, because there is no subject which I have more studied, and none where I seem to see my way so clearly, or to sympathise more entirely with the Scriptures and with the notions of all great writers on government. I hold the Church to be a most divine institution, and eminently characteristic of Christianity, and my abhorrence of the Priestcraft and Succession doctrines (I do not mean that they are synonymous) is grounded on my firm conviction that they are and ever have been in theory and in practice a most formidable device of the great Enemy to destroy the real living Church, and even to drive it out of men's minds, by the false and superstitious idea of a Church which never has and never can overthrow his kingdom. And in this sense,—so far as Popery is Priestcraft,—I do believe it to be the very mystery of iniquity, but then it began in the first century, and had no more to do with Rome in the outset, than with Alexandria, Antioch, or Carthage. The whole confusion of the ideas of priesthood and government,—the taking half a notion from one, and half a notion from the other,—the disclaiming a priesthood and yet clinging to conclusions which are only deducible from a notion of a priesthood,—and the want of familiarity with all political questions which characterize all that I have ever seen written on English High Church grounds, may be exposed piece by piece with the utmost ease and certainty. . . . I am for the Church, and against the Priesthood, not for individual licence against the Church.[1]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 60.

Here again we have Arnold's conception of the Church thrown into sharp relief against that of the Tractarians. The foundation stone of their theory was the doctrine of Apostolical Succession and the threefold ministry. Episcopacy was to them indispensable to the very existence of the Church as the sphere of supernatural grace—not so to Arnold. Apostolical Succession as he understood it was to be affirmed of the Church, not of the clergy, and had no value otherwise; it was a succession of living witness, not of machinery and organisation.

The Scripture notion of the Church [he writes to Sir Thomas Pasley] is that religious society should help a man to become himself better and holier, just as civil society helps us in civilisation. But in this great end of a Church, all Churches are now greatly defective, while all fill it up to a certain degree, some less, others more. . . . In this simple and Scriptural view of the matter, all is plain: we were not to derive our salvation through or from the Church, but to be kept or strengthened in the way of salvation by the aid and example of our fellow Christians, who were to be formed into societies for this very reason, that they might help one another, and not leave each man to fight his own fight alone. But the life of these societies has been long since gone: they do not help the individual in holiness, and this is in itself evil enough; but it is monstrous that they should pretend to fetter when they do not assist. This view arises simply from my old enemy, the Priestcraft, in this way. The Popish and Oxford

view of Christianity is, that the Church is the mediator between God and the individual: that the Church (*i.e.* in their sense, the Clergy) is a sort of chartered corporation, and that by belonging to this corporation, or by being attached to it, any given individual acquires such and such privileges. This is a priestcraft, because it lays the stress, not on the relations of a man's heart towards God and Christ, as the Gospel does, but on something wholly artificial and formal,—his belonging to a certain so-called society: and thus,—whether the society be alive or dead,—whether it really helped the man in goodness or not,—still it claims to step in and interpose itself, as the channel of grace and salvation, when it certainly is not the channel of salvation, because it is visibly and notoriously no sure channel of grace. Whereas, all who go straight to Christ, without thinking of the Church, do manifestly and visibly receive grace, and have the seal of His Spirit, and therefore are certainly heirs of salvation. . . . But the heraldic or Succession view of the question I can hardly treat gravely: there is something so monstrously profane in making our heavenly inheritance like an earthly estate, to which our pedigree is our title. And really, what is called Succession, is exactly a pedigree, and nothing better; like natural descent, it conveys no moral nobleness,—nay, far less than natural descent; for I am a believer in some transmitted virtue in a good breed, but the Succession notoriously conveys none. . . . The simple point is this: Does our Lord, or do His Apostles, encourage the notion of salvation through the Church? or would any human being ever collect such a notion from the Scriptures? Once begin with tradition, and the so-called Fathers, and you get, no doubt, a very different view. This the Romanists and the Oxfordists say is a view required

to modify and add to that of the Scripture. I believe that because it does modify, add to, and wholly alter the view of the Scripture, that therefore it is altogether false and anti-Christian.[1]

The individualism inherent in the view of the nature and function of the Church thus emphatically stated is not the most conspicuous of its defects. The Church is more than Arnold allows for as the mystical body of Christ, and both Scripture and history witness to this fact in a greater degree than he in his recoil from distortions of the truth was prepared to concede.

In a letter to Bunsen at the beginning of 1838 he underlines his characteristic opinions on the subject of the organised expression of Christianity with his usual uncompromising force. There could be no truce between a man holding this position and men who firmly believed in the Church as the divinely ordered custodian of a supernatural life.

Connected with this is Rothe's book, which I read with great interest. His first position,—that the State and not the Church (in the common and corrupt sense of the term) is the perfect form under which Christianity is to be developed,—entirely agrees with my notions. But his second position,—that the Church in the corrupt sense, that is, a priestly government, transmitted by a mystical suc-

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 65 f.

cession from one priest to another, is of apostolical origin,—seems to me utterly groundless. It may be that the Apostles, after the destruction of Jerusalem, if any of them survived it, made the government of the Church more monarchical, and less popular; and that they were very anxious to commit it to persons of their own choice, or chosen by those who had been so. But this does not touch the point. Different states of society require governments more or less despotic, and that the Church should be governed according to the principles of Christianity as set forth by the Apostles, is most certain. The mischief of the false Church notion consists in its substitution of the idea of priesthood for that of government, and as a consequence, deriving the notion of a mystical succession throughout all time, which does not and cannot preserve the spirit of the Apostles' principles, but paralyses the free action of the Church, and introducing a principle incompatible with all sound notions of law and government, at one time crushes the Church with its tyranny, and at another distracts it with its anarchy. I am convinced that the whole mischief of the great Anti-Christian apostacy has for its root the tenet of "a priestly government transmitted by a mystical succession from the Apostles".[1]

Well might Brilioth say that "Arnold's Church at times looks like a suspiciously Utilitarian institution";[2] but it would be truer to observe that his idea of the State was higher than that of most thinkers. He regarded the State—*vide* the *Postcript* to his *Principles of Church Reform*—as having for its

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 105. [2] *Anglican Revival*, p. 91.

main object the fullest well-being of mankind, and therefore as doing or aiming to do what is usually supposed to be the special work of the Church. Historical research has settled the main question of fact alluded to in the passage quoted. Elsewhere he compares the Tractarians with the Non-Jurors—"busy, turbulent, and narrow-minded; with no great or good objects, but something that is at best fantastic, and generally mischievous".[1] Froude he accuses of "extraordinary impudence"[2] in his attacks on the Anglican Reformers; and with much justice he points out the forced character of Tractarian subscription to the Articles.

The year 1841 marked a crisis in the Tractarian movement and in Arnold's attitude towards it; he was roused to new opposition to its propaganda and a more determined polemic. He had been hoping to have done with contention and aim at uniting all men of good will in comprehensive and constructive effort in face of the public and social evils of the time. "I will neither write or talk if I can help it *against Newmanism* but *for* that true Church and Christianity, which all kinds of evil, each in its appointed time, have combined to corrupt and destroy".[3] But

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 114. [2] *Ibid.* p. 127. [3] *Ibid.* p. 149.

events were too strong for him, and ere long he was involved in fiercer strife than ever.

The occasion was the publication in February 1841 of the most famous Tract of the series written by Newman.[1] It was an attempt to show that the Thirty-nine Articles were consistent with a pre-Reformation statement of the Catholic faith though not with later " Romish " accretions. It is a piece of special pleading only interesting to-day because of the anger it aroused and the breach it made in the ranks of adherents of the Oxford movement. It was quickly seen to be in essence an attempt to square Church of England formularies with the decrees of the Council of Trent, and this evoked widespread protest. For once Arnold found himself in the company of the majority in his view of the danger of allowing such a challenge to the Protestantism of the English Church to pass without condemnation. Condemned it was, both by the episcopate and the heads of colleges in Oxford itself. From this time forth, as Newman afterwards clearly saw, the movement was no longer a unity and his own position in Anglicanism became increasingly difficult. As he states in the *Apologia*, he was

[1] Keble read and approved of it before publication. See Lock's *Life of John Keble*, p. 108.

now on his deathbed as regards his connection with the Church of England.

As his star set that of Arnold rose.[1] His unpopularity began to die down and he daily gained in influence. The desire to have him back in Oxford in some important capacity rapidly took shape, and even from Rugby he found himself able to do much in guiding university opinion. The question of the Jerusalem Bishopric was the most important on which this new-found authority made itself specially felt. The scheme was Bunsen's, though the initiative appears to have come from the King of Prussia, who desired to introduce historic episcopal orders among his own clergy. The Bishop was to be of Anglican consecration but to subscribe the Augsburg Confession. The leading authorities of the Church of England welcomed the arrangement as did some of the most prominent of the Tractarians. Pusey accepted it, but Newman and those who most fully agreed with his standpoint were irreconcilably opposed to what they considered to be a schismatic invasion of an Orthodox patriar-

[1] Fairbairn in a suggestive comparison of the two men says that Newman lacked "the massive and human-hearted manhood of Arnold, who ever loved persons and humanity more than systems and things; while of Newman it may be said, he valued persons only as they were the representatives of systems and typical of things" (*Catholicism, Roman and Anglican*, p. 86).

chate, and no less so to the proposed alliance with the heresy of Lutheranism. The movement was split, never again to be reunited, and except as giving rise to what we now know as Anglo-Catholicism came to an end. In another sense it may then be said to have recommenced, but it did so by changing its character. The Anglo-Catholicism of to-day emphasises belief in the Church as an extension of the Incarnation rather than as merely the authoritative organ of revealed religion.

Concerning what he not unnaturally regarded as a marked triumph of his principles Arnold thus wrote to Sir Thomas Pasley in September of this critical year:

> The first Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem is to be consecrated at Lambeth next Wednesday. He is to be the legal protector of all Protestants of every denomination towards the Turkish government, and he is to ordain Prussian clergymen on their signing the Augsburg Confession and adopting the Prussian Liturgy, and Englishmen on their subscribing to our Articles and Liturgy. Thus the idea of my Church Reform pamphlet, which was so ridiculed and so condemned, is now carried into practice by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. For the Protestant Church of Jerusalem will comprehend persons using different Liturgies, and subscribing different Articles of Faith; and it will sanction these differences, and hold both parties to be equally its members. Yet it was thought ridiculous in me to conceive that a national Church might include

persons using a different ritual and subscribing different articles.[1]

Another blow was dealt at Tractarianism in the following year when Isaac Williams, an adherent of the Oxford movement and author of one of the Tracts—that on Reserve—was defeated in his candidature for the Poetry professorship. This was largely due to Arnold and is a further evidence of the power he was now able to exercise in academic affairs. So convinced was he that the sponsors of Tract Ninety were guilty of " very serious moral delinquency " that he deemed it his duty to resist them at every point. Thus, writing to Justice Coleridge in November 1841 with reference to the impending vacancy in the chair of Poetry, he says:

> Seriously I should feel glad to be able to vote conscientiously for a Newmanite, but except on matters of science, I hardly see how this could be. That is, I can conceive no moral subject on which I should wish to see a Newmanite placed in the situation of a teacher in Oxford.[2]

Altogether there is a new spirit of hope and confidence breathing through his recorded expressions at this period. An example may be cited from the private MS. of his *Travel Journal*.

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 281.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. p. 287.

I have been reading Bunsen's Liturgy for the Holy or Passion week, with his Introduction. He has spoken out many Truths which to the wretched Theology of our school would be startling and shocking ; but they are not hard Truths, but real Christian Truths spoken in Love, such as St. Paul spoke, and was called profane by the Judaizers for doing so. It will be a wonderful day when the Light breaks in upon our high churchmen and Evangelicals ; how many it will dazzle and how many it will enlighten God alone knows: but it will be felt, and the Darkness will be broken up before it.[1]

He had good reason for this heartening reflection. The shadow was lifting from his path.

[1] Hitherto unpublished.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGION AND EDUCATION—THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

ALL competent students of English history in the early nineteenth century are agreed that the field of Arnold's most lasting influence was that of the rational interpretation of Scripture. Pfleiderer credits him with having done an important pioneer work here, the fruits of which we are reaping now. It was the fearless application of the historical method to a true understanding of the Bible as of other ancient literature. He was not alone in the advocacy of this principle, but he was better equipped than most of his contemporaries for making use of it. J. B. Mozley says that he was German in outlook and tastes,[1] and the statement is unobjectionable if considered as descriptive of his knowledge and appreciation of the great gain that had accrued from untrammelled research

[1] *Ut sup.* ii. p. 25.

into Christian origins. What the eighteenth century principally lacked in this way the nineteenth had begun to supply, though only to a limited extent in England. Thirlwall and Julius Hare, and, to a certain degree, Milman, were independent co-workers with Arnold in bringing the historical method to bear upon the specific ecclesiastical and doctrinal problems of the time. Of this group perhaps the most learned was the first-named, whose competent knowledge of German was the means of stimulating the interest of a fairly considerable number of educated Englishmen in the growing results of historical criticism as applied not only to the Scriptures but to other departments of literary and social inquiry into first principles. Like Arnold he owed something to Bunsen, and along with Hare he rendered to the British public the valuable service of translating Niebuhr's *History of Rome*. We have already seen how greatly Arnold was indebted to Niebuhr for the initial stimulus which led him to write his own history on similar lines. These men all had a common standpoint: it was that of endeavouring to understand and interpret the present in the light of a scientifically adequate acquaintance with the formative forces of the past; it was based upon discovery and

observation of facts rather than the elaboration of abstract theories, and those adopting it were as a rule prepared to apply the same criteria to the facts of religious experience as to facts falling immediately within any other category.[1] That they were not always quite consistent with themselves in this particular is not surprising; it would have been surprising if at that incipient stage of the employment of the historical method they had been prepared for its full implications. This is markedly shown in Arnold's case. It was inevitable that sooner or later the application of the historical method to the study of the Scriptures should lead to a quest for fuller light upon the person and earthly life of the founder of Christianity, which is still the question of questions before students of the Christian sources. Here Strauss broke new ground with his *Leben Jesu* in 1835, putting forward the myth theory to account for the supernormal elements in the gospel record. Arnold would have none of this. To him the person of Christ stood outside of and above criticism, as he plainly states in one of his most characteristic utterances on the subject in a letter addressed to J. C. Platt in 1837:

[1] See the admirable preface to vol. iii. of Arnold's sermons.

If I think that Christ was no more than Socrates (I do not mean in degree, but in kind) I can of course speak of Him impartially; that is, I assume at once that there are faults and imperfections in His character, and on these I pass my judgment: but, if I believe in Him, I am not His judge, but His servant and creature; and He claims the devotion of my whole nature, because He is identical with goodness, wisdom, and holiness. Nor can I for the sake of strangers assume another feeling, and another language, because this is compromising the highest duty,—it is like denying Him, instead of confessing Him. . . . There is abundant room for impartiality in judging of religious men, and of men's opinions about religion, just as of their opinions about any thing else; but with regard to God and His truth, impartiality is a mere contradiction; and, if we profess to be impartial about all things, it can only be that we acknowledge in none that mark of divinity which claims devout adherence, and with regard to which impartiality is profaneness.[1]

This same conviction appears repeatedly in his sermons wherein our Lord is presented as central to Christian experience, to be loved and worshipped as the image of the invisible God. See, for instance, the fourth volume:

One name there is, and one alone, one alone in heaven and earth—not truth, not justice, not benevolence, not Christ's mother, not His holiest servants, not His blessed sacraments, nor His very mystical body the Church, but Himself only who died for us and rose again, Jesus Christ, both God and man.

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 69.

We may verily say with Tuckwell that Arnold's God was Christ, and there is this allowance at least to be made for his view that the person of Christ must not be subjected to the same detached scrutiny as other historical figures, namely, that the historical method cannot explain Him. From Strauss to Schweitzer all attempts to rediscover and portray the historical Jesus have failed to give an adequate conception of their theme because of the very pre-suppositions inseparable from their method. They do not convince for the reason that the most vital factors of Christian experience have to be left out of account.

But Arnold had no other reservations in his desire to make use of the historical method in the sphere of religion and morals. Herein he was greatly helped by Niebuhr, whose suggestion it was that, as early Roman History might well be in substance the reproduction in a prose medium of what was originally simple epic poetry, the same might be true to some extent of the more ancient contents of the Bible. This is now seen to be a true judgement of much practical worth, novel though it appeared to English readers a hundred years ago. The clergy as a body, however, were ignorant of what was being done in Germany in the field of Biblical

criticism and remained so until after the middle of the century ; it was only with the appearance of Seeley's *Ecce Homo* that a lively general interest in the subject began to awaken. Arnold was far ahead of his clerical contemporaries in his acquaintance with the more salient facts and willingness to accept them, though, as Neander points out in his essay on the English Teacher's Religious Thinking, his doctrinal views were not directly inspired by his German studies but had been formed beforehand and remained on the whole the same throughout his mature life. His essay on the Right Interpretation and Understanding of the Scriptures, which appears in the second volume of his sermons published in 1832, is his first considered explication of the principles which he believed to be necessary for an intelligent understanding of the nature of divine revelation as given in the Bible. These would be almost universally accepted to-day by educated readers. He insists in the first place that revelation by its intrinsic nature must be gradual and proportioned to the moral and intellectual capacity of those who receive it. The Bible is the principal record of such a revelation of the mind and will of God, and studied from this point of view its contents become simpler

of interpretation and difficulties are lessened or removed entirely. Further, inspiration ought not to be regarded as wholly miraculous and independent of the conditions in which it operates; the treasure is in earthen vessels; God inspires the men who declare spiritual truth but does not thereby render them immune from all liability to error or lift them above all contemporary limitations and prepossessions. Even our Lord Himself, thinking and speaking as a man, would partake to some extent in the limitations of knowledge which characterised His time and race; it was in the purity of His spiritual perceptions that He was unique. St. Paul's statement on Mars' Hill, that "the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent" is one that rightly describes the divine method employed in the moral and religious evolution of mankind; He has borne with much that He was believed to have directly enjoined, such as the treachery and cruelty whereby certain of His purposes were worked out in the earlier stages of Old Testament history. Christ's own teaching takes account of this fact. "Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives", etc. "Ye have heard that it hath

been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy ; but I say unto you, Love your enemies."

Verbal inspiration and inerrancy are ruled out by the acceptance of this canon of criticism whose consistent application has made the Bible a new book to present-day readers. Devout scholars would also follow Arnold in saying that inspiration neither raises a man above his own time, nor makes him even in respect to that which he utters when inspired perfect in goodness and wisdom; and that the message proclaimed by divinely inspired men is usually greater than they themselves were aware of and has a universal as well as a particular significance.

Coleridge preceded Arnold in this field, and may possibly have helped to clarify the younger man's views in relation to the foregoing positions, though there is no direct evidence of it. It was he, more than any man, who anticipated later developments in Biblical study and prepared Englishmen to receive calmly the best results of the critical method as pursued in Germany. Not less reverent, he was more thorough than Arnold in his analysis of the questions involved, and their proportionate importance. In his *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, which did not

appear until eight years later than Arnold's essay above cited, he gives ordered expression to what he had been putting on record in published fragments from the beginning of the century onward. He held that to read the Bible as one would any other book was sufficient to demonstrate its uniqueness, and that there was no need to cling to any rigid mechanical theory of inspiration, for true inspiration would be its own evidence; to claim infallibility for the Bible as a whole is to do more than it claims for itself; it is the content and not the manner of the revelation that gives it power over conscience and heart and proves it to be divinely inspired. In this Arnold was fully at one with him and was almost equally explicit and untrammelled in the statement of it. Had he lived longer he would certainly have gone farther in applying the historical method to the scientific exposition of Scripture. He longed to do so, as is made evident by repeated intimations to his friends. As far back as 1827 we find him arguing against Tucker in a private communication that belief in the plenary inspiration of Scripture is rationally untenable and historically indefensible; but it is not until much later that the project of issuing a series of commentaries on various portions

of Scripture begins to take shape in his mind.

Thus in writing to W. C. Lake in 1836 he declares and explains his intention of publishing the Pastoral Epistles with Notes and Dissertations as a counteractive to Tractarian propaganda. He hopes to achieve his object by examining these particular New Testament writings as historical documents purely and simply. Towards the end of the same year, however, he writes to another correspondent:

> I have translated nearly half of the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, and am disposed to prefer the plan of bringing out these two Epistles first, rather than the Pastoral Epistles. The chronological order of the Epistles is undoubtedly the natural one, and luckily the Epistles to the Thessalonians offer no very suspicious topics; they will not be thought to have been chosen for purposes of controversy, and yet they may really be made to serve my purposes quite as well.[1]

That these plans were never fully carried out is greatly to be regretted; his incessant labours in other directions precluded his giving the requisite amount of time to them. All that we can glean of what would otherwise have been bequeathed to posterity is to be found in the essay on the Interpreta-

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 59.

tion of Scripture and in the notes included with the fourth volume of his sermons, preached between 1835 and 1841.

Closely connected with Arnold's work in breaking new ground in the field of Biblical scholarship, and also with his firmly held Erastian convictions in regard to the interrelation of Church and State, is the interest he displayed, and the part he took for a time, in the London University scheme. His disappointment in this sphere has already been mentioned, but the reasons for it require to be set forth somewhat more fully.

His fears for the future of religious education in England are clearly expressed in the critical year 1832, which, as we have seen, led him to write his *Principles of Church Reform* and caused Keble and the Oxford group to set about publishing the *Tracts for the Times*. All men were aware of the danger which threatened, but it was not so easy to suggest a remedy. Arnold writes to J. E. Tyler:

> The Church, as it now stands, no human power can save; my fear is, that, if we do not mind, we shall come to the American fashion, and have no provision made for the teaching Christianity at all.[1]

The crisis passed, the Oxford movement

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 319.

began, and he turned with avidity to what in his judgement promised to be a hopeful and growing influence of a different character from any hitherto known in providing a corrective to secularism on the one hand and sacerdotalism on the other. It was the former which up till 1833 had seemed to him to be the principal peril; now and henceforth he found himself opposed to two mutually incompatible tendencies of the time and hardly knew which was the worse. It was therefore with considerable gratification that he received and decided to accept the offer of a fellowship in the Senate of the newly-constituted University of London. The older institution, which was replaced by the examining body authorised to confer degrees, in which he was now invited to co-operate, had possessed considerable attraction for him because he thought he saw in it a possible instrument for the realisation of his dream of a truly national and Christian system of education. He accepted the position thus offered, and did so without stipulating for a Scriptural examination as one of the essential conditions for the attainment of a degree. He took this course in the hope that it might not be necessary to insist upon such a stipulation. What he most earnestly wanted to

secure was the authoritative recognition of what was to him a vital principle, Christianity without sectarianism. Later on, however, he became convinced that a Scriptural examination was highly to be desired if his end were to be achieved, and that it would not be found impossible in practice to combine this with a careful avoidance of doctrinal tests.[1] The only kind of test he would impose has been already indicated.

But he was too late, if indeed he could ever have carried his point; the spirit and outlook of the promoters of the new institution were unfriendly to the introduction of what might come to be construed as in effect a religious test. Arnold tried hard to conquer this objection, but in vain. He only succeeded so far as to carry a resolution at the end of 1837 that candidates for the Bachelor of Arts degree should be required to pass an examination in one of the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles in the original Greek and be able to show a knowledge of Scripture history. The regu-

[1] Note the forcibly expressed controversial utterance on the point in the introduction to the last volume of sermons issued on his own authority — a finer selection than the posthumous one. "The truths of the Christian religion are to be sought for in the Scriptures and the Scriptures alone; they are the same at all times and in all countries. With the Christian Church it is otherwise; the Church is not a revelation concerning the unchangeable and eternal God, but an institution to enable changeable man to apprehend the unchangeable" (p. xliii.).

lation was strongly objected to in many quarters as an encroachment on the liberties guaranteed by the charter establishing the foundation. Nonconformists were suspicious of it, as were persons who for conscientious reasons refused to classify themselves as belonging to any specifically Christian organisation at all. Influential academic opinion was brought to bear against the resolution, which was rescinded a few weeks later and a permissive article substituted for it. Henceforth a knowledge of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and of the Greek text of the New, together with Scripture History were to be optional subjects for a degree in Arts.

Though defeated in an object so dear to his heart Arnold retained his fellowship until November of the same year hoping against hope that the Christian character of the university would be somehow preserved and emphasised; but he soon found that the pressure of opinion was in a different direction; the prevailing desire was to dissociate academic proficiency from religion altogether. Feeling himself in a false position he gave up the struggle. That he was right and his opponents wrong in this struggle is perhaps too much to say, but that he was more right than they were the logic of events

would appear to have demonstrated. How is it possible to separate education from religion without injury to both ?

The following extract from a letter to Justice Coleridge, written in November 1835, makes plain the purpose wherewith Arnold originally decided to assume the responsibility which had been tendered to him in the invitation to become a Fellow of the Senate of the newly-constituted university.

The *Idea* of my life, to which I think every thought of my mind more or less tends, is the perfecting the " idea " of the Edward the Sixth Reformers,—the constructing a truly national and Christian system of education. The more immediate question now is, with regard to the latter. The Address of the House of Commons about the London University, is to be answered by appointing a body of examiners by Royal Charter, with power to confer Degrees in Arts, Law, and Medicine, on students of the London University and of King's College, and of such other places of education as the Crown from time to time may name. I have accepted the office of one of the Examiners in Arts,—not without much hesitation, and many doubts of the success of the plan,—but desirous, if possible, to exercise some influence on a measure which seems to me full of very important consequences for good or for evil. Before I knew anything about this, I had written a Pamphlet on the Admission of Dissenters into the Universities; not meaning to publish it directly, if at all; but wishing to embody my view of the whole question, in which, of course, I take the deepest interest. Now, if I act with this new Board, I am

more disposed to publish my own views for my own justification, lest any man should think me an advocate for the plan of National education without Christianity; which I utterly abhor. But I am well nigh driven beside myself, when I think that to this monstrosity we are likely to come; because the zealots of different sects (including in this term the Establishment, pace Archiepiscopi Cantuarensis) will have no Christianity without Sectarianism. . . . Our Church now has a strict bond in matter of opinion, and none at all in matters of practice; which seems to me a double error. The Apostles began with the most general of all bonds in point of opinion—the simple confession that Jesus was the Son of God—not that they meant to rest there; but that, if you organise and improve the Church morally, you will improve its tone theoretically; till you get an agreement in what is essential Christian principle, and a perfect tolerance of differences in unessential opinions. But now, the true and grand idea of a Church, that is, a society for the purpose of making men like Christ,—earth like Heaven,—the kingdoms of the world, the kingdom of Christ,—is all lost; and men look upon it as "an institution for religious instruction and religious worship", thus robbing it of its life and universality, making it an affair of clergy, not of people—of preaching and ceremonies, not of living—of Sundays and synagogues, instead of one of all days and all places, houses, streets, towns, and country. I believe that the Government are well disposed, and I wish at any rate to try them. I know at least what I mean myself, and have a definite object before me, which, if I cannot reach, I would at least come as near to it as I can.[1]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 14.

A few days earlier Arnold had written in the same vein to Dr. Hawkins intimating his acceptance of office in connection with London University, and adding that he did so because he held himself bound to influence as far as he could the working of a great experiment which would probably in the end affect the whole education of the country. Incidentally it was his confessed purpose to prevent if possible the establishment of more sectarian places of education. He feared that as Dissenters were denied degrees at Oxford and Cambridge they would in the end be driven to seek facilities of their own elsewhere. He continued:

No man can feel more strongly than I do the necessary imperfection of the proposed system, and its certain inferiority to what the old Universities might be made, or even to what they are, I suppose, actually. No man can more dread the co-operators with whom I may possibly have to work, or the principle which an active party are endeavouring to carry into education, that it shall or can exist independent of Christianity. But the excuse of these men, and their probable success, arises out of the Oxford Sectarianism. You have identified Christianity with the Church of England, and—as there are many who will not bear the latter,—indifferent men, or unbelievers, believe that it must follow that they cannot be taught the former. The question goes through the whole frame of our society.[1]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 16.

It is clear that he was fully aware of the difficulties he had to meet and the small probability there was of his being able to overcome them, and events proved that his misgiving was justified. He felt his isolation keenly, this being the only occasion when he found himself in active opposition to the Liberal party in the State. But the opposition was fundamental and admitted of no real compromise. More and more the Liberals tended to insist, not only on the abolition of religious tests, but on an entire separation between religious and secular education; and it was in this separation that Arnold perceived the peril to lurk. In practice it meant that religion was relegated to a secondary place in national interests, and the injurious effects of the policy are very marked at the present day. Arnold was entirely right, and the Non-conformists who were largely the means of defeating his proposals were entirely wrong. Their fear of anything that savoured of the introduction of tests was not unnatural considering what they had suffered therefrom, but in this instance it was a mistaken one. Had they stood by Arnold we should have been spared the sectarian wrangling of the 'seventies and of the beginning of the present century, and, what is more serious, something

would have been done to check the growth of the undevout materialistic temper that has so largely characterised western civilisation since the rise of modern industrialism. Little wonder that Arnold considered the Church party and the Dissenters as "alike detestable" in their blindness to the real issues at stake. Writing early in 1836 he envisages the situation boldly. If, he says, his membership of the Senate of London University proves effective the results will be far-reaching.

> There will then probably be brought to issue this great question, whether the people of England have any value whatever for Christianity without sectarianism; for, as it seems to me, most of those who are above sectarianism are quite as indifferent to Christianity; while almost all who profess to value Christianity seem when they are brought to the test to care only for their own sect.[1]

At long last the people of England—or rather that part of the people of England that cares about Christianity at all—are beginning wistfully to see what a different course their national history might have taken if Arnold's guidance had been accepted ninety years ago, and to endeavour to draw together in a common agreement upon what is vital in their spiritual inheritance.

Arnold did not actually want to have

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 23.

degrees in Divinity conferred by London University, nor to have a Theological Faculty established. In this respect more recent developments have gone ahead of what he would have deemed possible, both in London and the older universities. But what he did want was that the Arts degree, which is the foundation of all the rest, should include some measure of acquaintance with the grounds and history of the Christian faith.

If *Arts* mean merely logic, or grammar, or arithmetic, or natural science, then of course a degree in Arts implies nothing whatever as to a man's moral judgment or principles. But open the definition a little farther,—include poetry or history or moral philosophy,—and you encroach unavoidably on the domain of moral education; and moral education cannot be separated from religious education . . . and the only question is, what religion am I to follow? If I take no notice of the authority and influences of Christianity, I unavoidably take a view of man's life and principles from which they are excluded, that is, a view which acknowledges some other authority and influence,—it may be of some other religion, or of some philosophy, or of mere common opinion or instinct;—but, in any case, I have one of the many views of life and conduct, which it was the very purpose of Christ's coming into the world to exclude. And how can any Christian man lend himself to the propagating or sanctioning a system of moral knowledge which assumes that Christ's law is not our rule, or His promises our motive or action? This, then, is my principle, that moral studies not based on Chris-

tianity must be unchristian, and therefore are such as I can take no part in.[1]

A liberal education without a knowledge of the Scriptures must be, in any Christian country, he maintains, a contradiction in terms, since Christianity has so coloured all our institutions, literature, and laws that our history is not understandable without it.

The crisis came with his letter to the Bishop of Norwich in February 1838, wherein he states that as the authorities of the university have solemnly avowed the principle that education need not be connected with Christianity, he feels it impossible to continue to take part in its administration. This letter was followed by another in June conveying his carefully weighed decision to retire. The university, he argues, cannot rightly be considered a definitely Christian institution notwithstanding the fact that its charter expressly states that one of its objects was that of the advancement of religion and morals. In his formal resignation addressed to the Chancellor in November he confesses that as the majority of his colleagues interpret the terms of the charter as positively forbidding that which in his judgement was indispensable, he could not continue by his presence on the

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 78.

Board to sanction a policy with which he profoundly disagreed. Thus ended his association with a project which at its inception had seemed to him so full of promise or at least of hopeful possibilities for the realisation of his dream of a truly national and Christian system of education. It was a bitter moment in his career, and one upon which he looked back afterwards with sadness though never with regret for the course he had chosen to follow. His life was ever guided by firm adherence to principle and never more so than in this instance. Whether he could not have rendered better service had he retained his office is hardly worth discussing. His force of character and strength of conviction were such that probably he could have influenced the tone of the university very considerably. But it was not in his nature to compromise on what he held to be vital to right conduct. Hence he took the only course open to him.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES—LAST YEARS AND DEATH

It would be quite improper to conclude any survey of Arnold's life and work without taking note of his interest in social questions and the important contribution he made to their elucidation. Politics he regarded as the application of Christian principles to the common life, and it was early his desire to put his thoughts on the subject into permanent systematic form. Thus he writes to Blackstone in 1827:

> I have long had in my mind a work on Christian Politics, or the application of the Gospel to the state of man as a citizen, in which the whole question of a religious establishment and of the education proper for Christian members of a Christian commonwealth would naturally find a place.[1]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 51. In the introduction to the volume of sermons published in 1834 Arnold urges as necessary for the training of the clergy a competent scholarly knowledge of the Scriptures and an equally thorough acquaintance with economic and social problems and the application of Christian principles to their solution.

This project was never realised in its entirety, but the lines on which it would have been developed are quite evident from what he said and wrote during the last fifteen years of his life. His sermons at Laleham, contemporary with the letter here quoted, contain much that is in keeping with the ultimate purpose he had in view, and they evince a remarkable amount of sound knowledge of prevailing conditions, notwithstanding the secluded life of the preacher at the time. After his appointment to Rugby there were many complaints that his interest in public life was incompatible with his position as a schoolmaster. Some, even among the governors, would have had him keep silence on public questions; others, chiefly among his friends, believed that he was endowed with gifts which ought to be exercised in the legislature rather than in teaching boys. This was not his own view, however; he felt that no true line of demarcation could be drawn between the one kind of service and the other, and he firmly refused to be prevented from delivering his soul on any subject of public moment. There was indeed an attempt made by the Rugby trustees on a specific occasion to interfere with his liberty of speech, but this he firmly resisted, and there was no repetition of it.

He confessed to having a moral detestation of conservatism, perhaps by a natural reaction against the Toryism in which he had been brought up. The disputative radicalism which characterised him during the earlier part of his residence in Oxford gave way later under the influence of J. T. Coleridge to a sort of mild, unreflective, and rather conventional acceptance of conservative opinions, a phase which did not last very long. Throughout the whole of his mature life his position on public questions was that of an independent liberal. His eager temperament rendered it difficult for him to see an opponent's point of view, a defect which he was conscious of and did his best to guard against; with him every conviction was not merely a matter of intellectual opinion but of moral judgement—hence the seriousness with which he viewed contemporary tendencies and the somewhat exaggerated estimate that he was apt to take of their significance. Thus he protests in 1830:

> It is really too great a folly to be talked of as a revolutionist, with a family of seven young children, and a house and income that I should be rather puzzled to match in America, if I were obliged to change my quarters. My quarrel with the anti-liberal party is, that they are going the way to force my children to America, and to deprive me and

everyone else of property, station, and all the inestimable benefits of society in England. There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and so convulsive to society as the strain to keep things fixed, when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress; and the cause of all the evils of the world may be traced to that natural but most deadly error of human indolence and corruption, that our business is to preserve and not to improve. It is the ruin of us all alike, individuals, schools, and nations.[1]

About the same time he is writing to his sister Susannah on the current discontents:

No one seems to me to understand our dangers, or at least to speak them out manfully. One good man who sent a letter to the *Times* the other day, recommends that the clergy should preach subordination and obedience. I seriously say, God forbid they should; for, if any earthly thing could ruin Christianity in England, it would be this. . . . If the clergy would come forward as one man from Cumberland to Cornwall, exhorting peaceableness on the one side, and justice on the other, denouncing the high rents and the game laws, and the carelessness which keeps the poor ignorant, and then wonders that they are brutal, I verily believe they might yet save themselves and the state. But the truth is, that we are living amongst a population whom we treat with all the haughtiness and indifference that we could treat slaves, whom we allow to be slaves in ignorance, without having them chained and watched to prevent them from hurting us.[2]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 283. [2] *Ibid.* p. 284.

The immensity of the change which has taken place in our social outlook in the last hundred years is indicated in such a passage as the foregoing. The Industrial Revolution, with its doctrines of individualism and *laissez faire*, brought into existence an entirely new set of problems and a new social consciousness. At the time Arnold wrote as above what seems to us a strange callousness prevailed almost universally on the subject of the sufferings of the poor, but already there were signs of the awakening which in our time has taken the form of a desire to re-fashion the social order on better and juster lines. What Professor Seeley called the enthusiasm of humanity may be said to date in England from the middle of last century, after Europe had recovered from the shock of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The former colossal event gave the initial impulse to the evolution of modern democracy. Like the Russian Revolution at the present day it seemed in its hour of triumph to be purely destructive, and as such it provoked in this and other countries a reaction born of fear. Arnold was among the first to perceive that it had had greater and more lasting results. In the communication above quoted he continues :

I only wish you could read Arthur Young's *Travels in France in 1789 and 1790*, and see what he says of the general outbreak then of the peasantry, when they burnt the châteaux all over France, and ill-used the families of the proprietors, and then compare the orderliness of the French populace now. It speaks volumes for small subdivided properties, general intelligence, and an absence of aristocratical manners and distinctions. We know that, in the first Revolution, to be seen in decent clothes was at one time a sure road to the guillotine; so bitter was the hatred engendered in a brute population against those who had gone on in luxury and refinement, leaving their poorer neighbours to remain in the ignorance and wretchedness of savages, and therefore with the ferocity of savages also. The dissolution of the ministry may do something; but the evil exists in every parish in England; and there should be a reform in the ways and manners of every parish to cure it. We have got at the dispensary here, and I am thinking of circulating small tracts à la Cobbett, in *point of style*, to show the people the real state of things and their causes. Half the truth might be of little use, but ignorance of all the truth is something fearful, and a knowledge of the whole truth would, I am convinced, do nothing but pacify, because the fault of the rich has been a sin of ignorance and thoughtlessness; they have only done what the poor would have done in their places, because few men's morality rises higher than to take care of themselves, abstaining from actual wrong to others.[1]

The agitation for electoral reform was proceeding briskly and exciting in many minds the apprehension of revolution. Arnold's

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 284.

desire, as above expressed, to do something to assist in counteracting the dangerous social ferments which were at work, took shape in the starting of the periodical which he called the *Englishman's Register*. He said he must deliver his soul or burst, and with his nephew John Ward as editor, he himself bearing the financial burden, he endeavoured through this publication to supply what he felt to be sane and sober instruction on the burning problems of the hour. It was not a well-conceived scheme; he had not reckoned with the cost necessary to establish a new weekly review, and his lack of experience in the field of journalism told heavily against the venture. The *Register* died in a few weeks, but as some of his articles therein had been republished in the *Sheffield Courant* he continued to contribute letters to that journal on the causes of social suffering and class rancour. These letters were afterwards issued in a more permanent form.

He was conscious from the first of his isolation from all parties in regard to public affairs, and this he felt deeply and with some surprise.

I have no man like-minded with me [he complains to Archbishop Whately]—none with whom I can cordially sympathise; there are many good men

to be found, and many clever men, some too, who are both good and clever; but yet there is a want of some greatness of mind, or singleness of purpose, or delicacy of feeling, which makes them grate against the edge of one's inner man.[1]

He was particularly disappointed by the unresponsiveness of the Evangelicals to his longing for co-operation in the task of applying the principles of the gospel of Christ to the ills of the time. Their comfortable other-worldliness filled him with indignation, and he never afterwards showed much sympathy with them or expected much from them.

When the great measure of parliamentary reform was introduced he gave it a qualified approval while holding that the franchise in itself would do comparatively little to put right what was most wrong with the body politic, and he says as much to John Ward:

I regard the Ministerial Reform Bill as a safe and a necessary measure, and I should, above all things, dread its rejection, but I cannot be so sanguine as you are about its good effects; because I think that the people are quite as likely to choose men who will commit blunders and injustice as the borough-mongers are, though not exactly of the same sort.[2]

One of his sayings at this period was: "Woe be to that generation that is living in England

[1] Stanley, *Life*, i. p. 279. [2] *Ibid.* p. 293.

when the coal mines are exhausted and the National Debt not paid off." He would have a hundred times more reason for making the same pessimistic prediction to-day. His knowledge of history also supplied him with the perception that the conservative instinct of human nature is stronger than that which makes for innovation in the forms and methods of government. Conservatism, he observed, nearly always managed to keep in the ascendant till it became intolerable; then an upheaval would follow, to be succeeded by a further domination by the same *vis inertiae*. In a letter to J. C. Platt in 1836 he puts on record a very shrewd and just judgement on the point, which modern statesmen and makers of public opinion might well take to heart:

> I think that, as it has always been, the Reformers will be beaten by the Conservatives, and then the Conservatives will again go on coiling the rope round their own necks, till in twenty years' time there will be another, not Reform I fear, but convulsion. For, though the Reformers are a weak party, the Destructives are not so, and all evils, whether arising from accident or folly, or misgovernment, serve their purpose.[1]

Englishmen, he said, were never roused from their conservatism till mustard poultices were

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 63.

put to their feet. But for the fires of Smithfield they would have remained hostile to the Reformation. But for the butcheries of Judge Jeffreys they would have opposed the second Stuart Revolution.

After the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 he expected things to settle down, and for a time devoted less attention to political issues and more to the development of Mechanics' Institutes and other popular educative agencies. But in 1839 his misgivings were revived by the excesses which accompanied the Chartist movement. From this time forward he became less hopeful in his outlook on the social future of the country and at times expressed himself very despondently on the subject. Cobbett he had always distrusted as a popular leader while recognising his sincerity, but he was still more distrustful of the spirit of Chartism which he never quite understood. Thus, writing at the close of 1838, he says:

> I have been much distressed by the accounts of the alarming agitation which is going on in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire; an agitation not political merely, but social, complaining of the unequal reward of labour, and inveighing against capital and capitalists in no gentle terms. Believing this to be peculiarly our sore spot, any irritation in it always disturbs me; and I have

been tempted to write again on the subject, as I did in 1831 in the Sheffield letters.[1]

Obeying the impulse he wrote a series of letters on Chartism to the *Hertford Reformer*, but these can hardly be said to have given any new lead to the workers or even to have been an adequate presentation of their case. Trade Unionism he unsparingly condemned as mischievous, and withheld his sympathy from what was at that time the only means that wage-earners possessed of mitigating the evils they were compelled to endure under the soulless grind of the age of machinery. Their one hope consisted in the acknowledgement of the right to combine in their own interests and of the principle of collective bargaining, but this Arnold never clearly discerned any more than the vast majority of his contemporaries of his own order. He was strangely blind too to the value of the work that Dickens was doing in awakening the social conscience, nor had he any admiration for him as a literary force.

Childishness in boys, even of good abilities [he writes in 1839] seems to me to be a growing fault, and I do not know to what to ascribe it, except to the great number of exciting books of amusement, like *Pickwick* and *Nickleby*. . . . These completely

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 141.

satisfy all the intellectual appetite of a boy, which is rarely very voracious, and leave him totally palled, not only for his regular work, which I could well excuse in comparison, but for good literature of all sorts.[1]

Yet there was no lack of intensity in his feeling about the immorality of privilege and the obligation to denounce it. For democracy as such he had no reverence, but he believed it to be more amenable to righteous influence than aristocracy of any sort or kind. Referring to his first volume of the *History of Rome* he says to Coleridge in 1838 :

You will find that I have not spared the faults of Democracy. Still I confess that Aristocracy as a predominant element in a government, whether it be aristocracy of skin, of race, of wealth, of nobility, or of priesthood, has been to my mind the greatest source of evil throughout the world, because it has been the most universal and the most enduring. Democracy and tyranny, if in themselves worse, have been, and I think ever will be, less prevalent, at least in Europe ; they may be the Cholera, but aristocracy is Consumption ; and you know that in our climate Consumption is a far worse scourge in the long run than Cholera.[2]

It must not be inferred from this that he held any doctrinaire theories of the abolition of class distinctions. On the contrary he believed that these distinctions serve a useful purpose if subordinated to the common end

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 159. [2] *Ibid.* p. 120.

of the maintenance of self-respecting freedom and public right. This opinion he has put on record in a well-considered utterance written about the same time as the foregoing or a little later:

> I believe it to be necessary, and quite desirable, that the popular power in a state should, in the perfection of things, be paramount to every other; but this supremacy need not, and ought not, I think, to be absolute; and monarchy, and an aristocracy of birth,—as distinguished from one of wealth or of office,—appear to me to be two precious elements which still exist in most parts of Europe, and to lose which, as has been done unavoidably in America, would be rather our insanity than our misfortune. . . . All theory and all experience show, that if a system goes on long unreformed, it is not then reformed, but destroyed. And so, I believe, it will be with our Aristocracy and our Church; because I fear that neither will be wise in time.

His diagnosis of the cause of Chartism is not so acute:

> The state of public affairs is not inviting, and I rejoice that we take in no daily paper. It is more painful than enough to read of evils which one can neither cure nor palliate. The real evil which lies at the bottom of the Chartist agitation is, I believe, too deep for any human remedy, unless the nation were possessed with a spirit of wisdom and of goodness, such as I fear will never be granted to us after we have for so many centuries neglected the means which we have had.[1]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 156.

He differed profoundly from the Liberal party in the importance attributed by the latter to political economy, and in his criticism of their somewhat materialistic faith he discerningly anticipates what a later generation has come to see plainly, that the economic man of the political economists has never existed, and that other factors have to be taken into account in estimating the success or non-success of any social measure.

> I think that the summum bonum of their science, and of human life, are not identical; and, therefore, many questions in which free trade is involved, and the advantages of large capital, etc., although perfectly simple in an economical point of view, become, when considered politically, very complex; and the economical good is very often from a neglect of other points made in practice a direct social evil.[1]

These extracts are sufficient to show the direction of his thoughts in relation to the portentous movements that were beginning to take shape, but it cannot truly be said that he contributed much lasting guidance to the leaders of the new democracy, nor do their successors feel that he was able to do so. He was precluded by his training and the limitations inseparable from his intellectual environment and preoccupations from

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 188.

thoroughly understanding the economic problems which still await solution. His conception of politics was that of Aristotle and the Greece of the golden age suffused with the ethics of Christianity; but modern industrialism has brought into existence a world which neither Greek sages nor the men who wrote the New Testament had any conception of. The utmost that can be said for Arnold's brave and unselfish attempt to apply the "idea" of a Christianised Greek city-state to nineteenth-century English industrial life is that it emphasised a constituent without which no sound and healthy social system can ever be developed.

His restricted vision in regard to Trade Unionism is paralleled by his inability to perceive the importance of science both as an instrument of education and as a principal factor in the civilisation of the near future. In 1836 he commits himself to the statement that rather than have physical science the principal thing in his son's mind he would gladly have him think that the sun went round the earth and that the stars were so many spangles set in the bright blue firmament. "Surely", he adds, "the one thing needful for a Christian and an Englishman to study is Christian and moral and political philo-

sophy." Two years later he observes to Hawkins with reference to a proposed increase in the number of subjects coming within the university conspectus, that he deprecates undue prominence being given to the study of physical science anywhere because of its warping influence on mind and morals.

In all this Arnold but reveals himself as an exceptionally fine example of the educated English mind of early Victorian days, serious, high-principled, public spirited, but as yet unable to appreciate the enormous possibilities for good and ill of the new forces that were beginning to make themselves felt in the related spheres of sociology and of acquaintance with the laws of nature. The cleavage was just beginning between the classical tradition and the scientific method in education, a cleavage which has once and for all destroyed the basis which teachers and writers were able to take for granted in addressing their contemporaries of whatsoever rank or class. There is no such uniform mentality now as for many generations prevailed in this country among educated people. Arnold did not foresee the change nor the difficulties it would engender; how could he?

His greatest contribution to the life of his own generation, a contribution which the

intervening hundred years since his public career began have but served to intensify, was his personal character. Its distinguishing ingredient was a rare nobleness, disinterestedness, and elevation of spirit. If the gentler and more gracious qualities exhibited by men like Keble and Hampden were not so conspicuous in him neither were they altogether wanting; he could be as tender and sympathetic as a woman when occasion called for it, and of the tenacity of his affections there is overwhelming proof. It is doubtful if any one ever took a liberty with him; his natural dignity and force were such as to make it difficult if not impossible to be flippant or self-assertive in his presence. It is said by Tuckwell that even those who knew him best stood a little in awe of him. He had no small talk: hence strangers were apt to find him stiff and reserved unless they were able to interest him in some great subject of an impersonal kind, when he at once became animated and eager.

His critics averred that he was too dogmatic, vehement, pugnacious, and self-opinionated, and there was colour for the accusation. What he believed he believed with all his heart and was little given to compromise or perhaps to allow sufficiently for the prejudices

or conscientious convictions of others. When, for instance, he confessed to wishing to succeed Hampden at Oxford it was with the avowed object of assailing the Tractarians and if possible defeating them on their own ground, a desire which, as we have seen, left him in later years, or at any rate was considerably modified. It was at the earlier period that he unburdened himself to Whately thus :

I never yet in my life made any application for preferment, nor have I desired it. But I confess, if Hampden is to be made a Bishop, I wish that they would put me in his place at Oxford. I should be a very great loser in point of income by the change, and, till lately, I have never fancied that I could be more useful anywhere else than at Rugby. But I think under present circumstances that I could do more good at Oxford. I could not supply your place, but I could supply it better than it is supplied now. I should have a large body of very promising young men disposed to listen to me for old affection's sake, and my fondness for young men's society would soon bring others about me whom I might influence. I should be of weight from my classical knowledge, and I am old enough now to set down many of the men who are foremost in spreading their mischief, and to give some sanction of authority to those who think as I do, but who at present want a man to lean upon. . . . Furthermore, my spirit of pugnaciousness would rejoice in fighting out the battle with the Judaizers, as it were, in a saw-pit.[1]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 39.

There is every likelihood that if this programme had been carried out the history of the Oxford movement would have taken a different turn. Arnold would have off-set Newman and created a school of his own, perhaps even more powerful than the Tractarians. On the other hand there was a winsomeness in Newman and also in Pusey which Arnold lacked. His manly strength had an element of the formidable in it. He would have been followed with devotion, but we cannot say with assurance whether his teaching would have satisfied the spiritual hunger which the reaction from Utilitarianism had evoked and Tractarianism had to an extent succeeded in meeting by the emphasis it placed on personal sanctity. Men like Frederick Robertson were to be found among undergraduates whom Tractarianism did not allure; and these would have clustered round Arnold like needles round a magnet. It is to be regretted that the opportunity of influencing the university from within came too late to be comparable with that of Newman, whom he might otherwise have outshone.[1]

[1] Neither of these two distinguished men had much power of understanding sympathetically the difficulties of others. What Bremond says of Newman's self-isolation Mozley (*Essays*, p. 63) substantially affirms of Arnold: "He had but slightly that fundamental and all-important quality for a spreader of opinions, and a winner and gainer of minds, that great faculty

The only occasion on which he ever met Newman personally was when he came up to deliver his inaugural lecture as Regius Professor of Modern History a few months before his death. The two men sat side by side at dinner in Oriel College hall. What they thought of each other has never been made known. Closer acquaintance would certainly have removed some mutual prejudices. Newman's uncharitable objurgation, "But is *he* a Christian?" could never have been uttered of a man of Arnold's profoundly Christian and spiritual temper had they known each other as well as both knew Keble.

Arnold's was on the whole a happy life and he was fortunate in the possession of a sanguine, buoyant temperament. There was no morbid streak in his nature, and though at times he felt deeply the misunderstandings to which he was exposed, and gave way to despondency at what he believed to be the evil tendencies of the times and the smallness of his success in coping with them, he was too strong-willed and high-principled to allow his energies to be weakened by such dark experiences. He confessed to his brother-in-law, Trevenen Penrose, during the period of

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of manhood—the power of intellectual sympathy, and of entering into other people's minds."

his greatest unpopularity, that he often longed for a more peaceful life ; peace, he avowed, he valued above everything. This is a sentiment which he repeated at intervals, but there is not the smallest reason to believe that he dwelt habitually in the atmosphere of discouragement or depression of spirit ; all the evidence points the other way. He more than once observed that he thought his life had been too happy, too full of blessing, in comparison with others, and that he had known so little real pain either of mind or body that one indispensable aspect of Christian experience had been hidden from him. Some of the entries in his private diary show how increasingly conscious of this he became. Several of the prayers recorded therein for his own eyes alone are requests for grace to bear in a right spirit whatever sorrow or suffering might be laid upon him in time to come. He prayed against all tendency to censoriousness and harshness of judgement and for increase of meekness, humility, tenderness, and consideration for others. Some haunting prevision of the nearness of his end seems to have taken possession of his thoughts in the last year of his life, though he seemed to be well and strong and no anxiety had ever been entertained either by him or the

members of his family concerning the state of his health. One of the last entries in the diary is the touching meditation:

I have felt better and stronger all this day, and I thank God for it. But may He keep my heart tender. May He keep me gentle and patient, yet active and zealous, may He bless me in Himself and in His Son. May He make me humble minded in this, that I do not look for good things as my portion here, but rather should look for troubles as what I deserve, and as what Christ's people are to bear. . . . How much of good have I received at God's hands, and shall I not also receive evil? Only, O Lord, strengthen me to bear it, whether it visit me in body, in mind, or in estate. Strengthen me with the grace which Thou didst vouchsafe to Thy martyrs; and let me not fall from Thee in any trial. O Lord, let me cherish a sober mind, to be ready to bear evenly, and not sullenly. O Lord reveal to me Thyself in Christ Jesus, which knowledge will make all suffering and all trials easy.[1]

The end came startlingly, unexpectedly, and painfully, as the solemn reflections here quoted would almost seem to have foreshadowed. By a strange coincidence the last entry in his diary alluded to the fact that the next day but one would be his forty-seventh birthday—"if I am permitted to live to see it".[2]

[1] Stanley, *Life*, ii. p. 323.

[2] The last sermon in the posthumous edition of the sermons on the Christian life preached at Rugby School is entitled by the editors "The Farewell Warning," and contains specially solemn moral exhortation and appeal in view of the shortness of the time.

In the early hours of the following morning he was awakened by a sharp attack of angina pectoris and suffered grievously for a few hours though with great fortitude and self-control. As soon as the nature of the seizure was made fully known to him by his medical attendant, he quietly asked one of his children who was standing by the bedside to thank God for sending him such an affliction. " I have suffered so little pain in my life ", he whispered, " that I feel it is very good for me : now God has given it to me, and I do so thank Him for it ". Soon afterwards, and almost without warning, he drew his last breath.

The news was like a thunderbolt to the many thousands of persons throughout England who had learned to love and revere him. His greatness was now beginning to be generally recognised ; respect for his personal character had triumphed over prejudice and misrepresentation ; his disinterestedness had been proved up to the hilt ; he was at the zenith of his powers, mental and physical ; he had attained to a position of influence and authority which all men felt to be his due ; and suddenly he was cut off. The sorrow thereat was spontaneous and widespread. Many who had hitherto been his opponents

in matters religious and political were among the first to pay tributes, as sincere as they were merited, to the high example he had set and the lasting work he had done. His friends and former pupils went farther: they felt and said that he was irreplaceable, and in this they were right. He inaugurated a new era in pedagogy but he had not yet come to his own in other fields. It is only now that his views and those of his fellow-Noetics have gained ascendancy in England with or without the Erastianism wherewith he informed them. Had he lived longer it is safe to say that the victory of a spiritually-minded liberalism in theology and social ethics, but particularly the former, would have been sooner won.

The personality of Thomas Arnold was of a type that is too rare in any age or country. His greatest legacy to after generations is the impression produced by the nobleness of his nature and the fine unselfish courage wherewith he bore himself in every relation of life. A constructive thinker he was not, though he possessed the merit of knowing his own mind on most subjects; he could hardly be called a prophet, though he had much of the prophetic temper; he had none of the genius of the great Tractarian leader; but he was exceptionally endowed with the traditionally

English quality of sound, strong, practical wisdom. Of no man could it be more confidently affirmed that he would have excelled as an administrator in any department of the national life. As a bishop he would have set his mark deep upon the organisation of the Church of England, and his reforming zeal would have swept away abuses and anticipated not a little of the changes which have since come to pass in the direction of greater efficiency, including most of the measures which have been placed on the statute book since the Great War. The position and responsibility could not have been withheld from him much longer, and no living man at the time would have been likely to command a readier hearing and obedience in that capacity from loyal sons of the Church, especially among the laity. What would have happened to incipient Anglo-Catholicism in that case we can but conjecture. Upon one point we can be positive, and that is that with Arnold at the centre of affairs for another twenty-five years the entire history of the Church of England in the latter half of the nineteenth century would have taken a somewhat different course, though ultimately the outcome would have been much the same as we see it to-day. Anglicanism at the close of

the first quarter of the twentieth century is in many respects tending towards what Arnold would have approved. The exceptions are obvious, but perhaps in the altered circumstances he would approve of them too. No juster testimony to the abiding worth of what he was and did for England is necessary than to say that after the lapse of eighty years his name shines with a brighter lustre to-day than at any period since his untimely death. *Si quid feceris honestum cum labore, labor abit, honestum manet.*

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SCHOOL

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